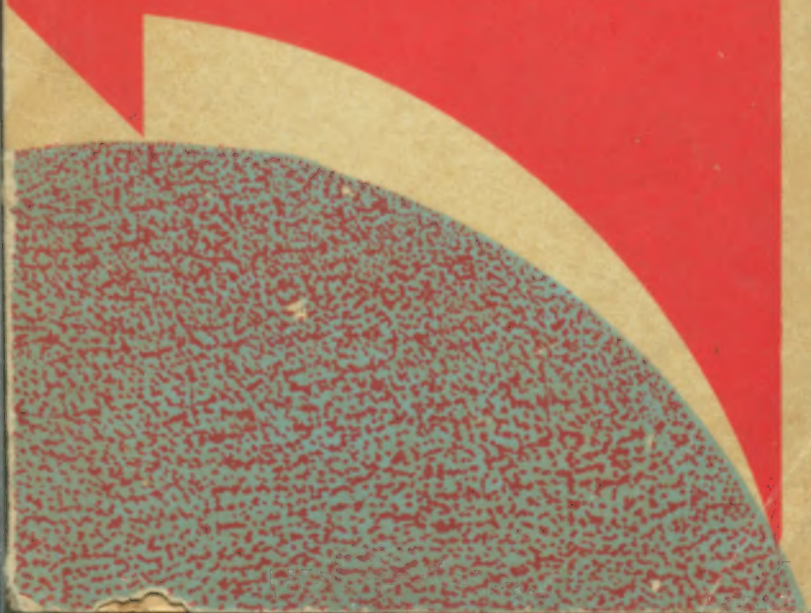


**FIGHTERS
FOR THE PEOPLES'
INTERESTS**





Vitaly Korionov

FIGHTERS FOR THE PEOPLES' INTERESTS

Communists in the Vanguard
of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

**Novosti Press Agency
Moscow, 1971**

C-98468

CONTENTS

1. Instead of Introduction	5
2. Waging Hard Battle	9
3. Nations of the World Against Imperialism	34
4. The Historical Mission of Communists	61
5. Key to Victory United Action	80

Instead of Introduction

Peace, Labour, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all people. Can there be loftier or greater humanitarian goals? These sacred aspirations are inscribed on their banners by Communists—forerunners of the new epoch. It is to these goals they pledge their lives.

Yuri Gagarin, the first man in space, said before take-off:

"My whole life seems to me now one great wonderful moment. Everything I have ever done, everything I have lived through up to the present has been dedicated to this one minute. . . Can a more complex task be named than the one which has become my lot to perform? I feel a great responsibility to the whole Soviet people, the whole of humanity, its present and its future. And if none the less I have agreed to make this flight it is only because I am a Communist."

These words sum up the true Communist. They explain why today the communist movement has become the greatest political force in the world.

Never has a political movement inspired such unbridled hatred among the self-styled "rulers" of this world and been subjected to such wrathful attacks from the mightiest state machinery, imperialism.

Only the sum total of the surmounted obstacles is a true yardstick of heroism and of he who performed the feat—these words of Stefan Zweig may be applied to the heroism, which is constantly in evidence but does not always meet the eye, of millions of Communists all over the world and the difficulties they are up against.

How many times did the obscurantists declare the communist movement "eliminated"! Such statements were to be heard after the defeat of the Paris Commune and the unsuccessful revolution of 1905-07 in Russia. Assertions of this kind were frantically voiced in the days when 14 foreign imperialist powers together with the internal forces of counter-revolution were swarming over Russia's boundless expanses during the period of foreign intervention and the Civil War that started after the victorious October Revolution. An uproarious clamour about the "need to destroy communism" came from Berlin and resounded throughout the world from 1933 to 1945, until at last the new social structure guided by Communists destroyed fascism and liberated humanity.

Perhaps, after all, there is no need to go further back into history than a few years when Lyndon Johnson, President of the world's strongest imperialist state, declared in one of his speeches that political developments in this century would not be favourable to communism.

But times change, as the saying goes, and so does the music. Other refrains can be distinguished today. Some are lamentations that the hopes to "throw back" or "weaken" communism have not, after all, come true. "Starting with nothing but an idea and a handful of adherents," one reads in a collection of articles entitled *Anatomy*

of *Anti-Communism* published in the USA in 1969, "Communism has come into power over more than a third of the world." James B. Hodgson, another American sociologist, points out that a brilliant German philosopher working in the British Museum had elaborated a powerful social philosophy. He is referring, of course, to Karl Marx. That philosopher did not possess a single tank, jet plane or missile, the author goes on, but his extensive studies are the main force endangering the Western world today.

In a collectively written work of several bourgeois Japanese philosophers, *Problems of Human Existence in Modern Philosophy*, published a few years ago, Shinsaku Aihara (a confirmed opponent of Marxism) wrote in his article "Thoughts about Marxism" that since the *Communist Manifesto*, when Marx elaborated the prospects of communist development for the proletarian movement, "...it has taken only one century for communism to spread throughout the world and for the Communist Parties to take over power in major states. History has never known anything like if before." Communism, Aihara points out, has made progress and is making unheard-of strides forward on an unprecedented scale.

Or yet another admission. It may be found in the papers of a symposium called "Myths, Realities and Politics" sponsored in 1970 by the US magazine *Problems of Communism* which could have been more appropriately called "Problems of Anti-Communism." Speaking at this symposium Andrew Ezergailis, a history professor from Ithaca (New York) said that the Bolsheviks had been stronger in 1917 than in 1903, stronger in

1930 than in 1922, and in 1955 stronger than in 1944. Are there any grounds, he asked, to assert that communism today is weaker than in 1956?

The path of the communist movement is strewn with fallen fighters. Hundreds of thousands of our best comrades have perished in prisons, were executed or assassinated by the police or hired killers. But the ranks of the Communists are not depleted, on the contrary, they increase with every passing year. Rephrasing Hemingway, we may say "a Communist may be destroyed but he cannot be defeated."

From whence, then, comes the indomitable strength of the communist movement? The answer is—the Communists' activities—and in this booklet we shall try to explain what these activities are.

Waging a Hard Battle

The Pioneers

The nineteen-seventies conclude an epoch that has made the deepest impression in the history of mankind, an epoch of the profoundest qualitative changes in the destinies of all nations and states. From capitalism to socialism; from exploitation to liberation; from imperialist wars to peace and friendship among nations; from backwardness to progress—such is the essence of this most radical transformation in the life of humanity, such are the changes that have taken place over the past hundred years.

The herald of this new era was the world's first proletarian revolution—the Paris Commune of 1871 in France. It marked the historical emergence of a new class in world history, a valiant class that, while still only beginning to take shape, felt impelled to tackle world historical problems, a class that, at the cost of defeats and the sacrifice of many lives, started to grope for the road towards socialism. This was the working class.

The Paris Commune was the first attempt of this class to challenge the society of enslavement and arbitrary rule. The attempt was unsuccessful:

the working class at that time was too weak and inexperienced. It did not have a leadership capable of guiding it through the stormy period of a most difficult social revolution—it did not have a revolutionary Marxist party.

But people capable of foresight were convinced that the Commune would rise again and triumph. Among them were, first and foremost, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

In 1881 in the days of the tenth anniversary of the Paris Commune Marx and Engels made a prophetic forecast of the emergence of a "Russian Commune."

Only the founders of scientific communism who had boundless faith in the historical liberating mission of the working class could distinguish through the veil of time what the historic mission of the Russian proletariat would prove to be.

The Paris Commune was the starting point of a steadily growing revolutionary movement of the masses, which shook the foundations of the old world.

From 1871 to October 1917 the world saw ninety-five revolutions and powerful working class manifestations. They were all defeated but they promoted their historic cause—gradually washed out the foundation of the edifice of world capitalism. The Great October Revolution of 1917 in Russia was a logical outcome.

The road which led Russia to socialism is the historically-determined way of human civilization. The Great October Socialist Revolution expressed the main basic tendencies of the new historical epoch—an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, a transition prepared by the

world's socio-economic development as well as by the advanced social thinking embodied in Marxism-Leninism.

"Since the appearance of Marxism," wrote Lenin in 1913, "each of the three great periods of world history has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the coming period of history." (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 271.) It has been the epoch opened up by the victorious October Revolution that has seen the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings.

The Great October Revolution broke through the world capitalist system and sealed the fate of the imperialist domination. The sacrifices made by the Russian proletariat, for other nations besides their own, and for world civilization, have been sacrifices of a people blazing a path towards a socialist society.

Lenin foresaw that after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, revolutions in other countries would take place in less difficult conditions than in Russia, "...without the violence, without the bloodshed that was forced upon us by the Kerenskys and the imperialists." (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 271.) Lenin believed that the working class in other countries would come to power "...by a different, a more humane road". (Ibid, p. 272.)

The triumph of the socialist revolution and the victory of socialism in the USSR facilitated the movement towards socialism of other nations, as convincingly demonstrated by the victory of socialism after the Second World War in a large number of European and Asian states as well as

in Cuba. Further confirmation has been the successful development of the national liberation revolutions in the post-war period in the Afro-Asian countries. It has become obvious that future revolutions will not require their people to bear such losses as did history's forerunners, the Soviet people.

An Enemy of Mankind

But the above does not mean that the struggle for the ultimate liberation of humanity from imperialist oppression will be an easy one from now on, demanding no sacrifices. The ultimate verdict of history has already been pronounced, but in the struggle against the last system of exploitation every effort is needed to ensure the speedy execution of the sentence.

The life of mankind in the era of imperialism is like a great camp on the edge of a volcano from which now and then deadly lava is emitted. Imperialism knows of no relations between states other than those of domination, subjection and enslavement of those who happen to be the weaker party. Its international relations are based on diktat and intimidation, violence and arrogance. War is regarded as the means of solving international issues.

Predatory wars like a malevolent shadow accompany imperialism. In the First World War (1914-18) 10 million soldiers lost their lives and a further 20 million were crippled. In the Second World War (1939-45) there were more than 54 million killed and over 90 million wounded, in-

cluding 28 million crippled for life. Two million civilians perished in air raids.

"New widows howl, new orphans cry..." these words of Shakespeare may be used to describe the situation wherever the predatory hand of imperialism extends. Over the last 25 years the imperialists have continued to fan the flames of war in many parts of the world. They have provoked and started more than thirty armed conflicts during the last few years alone.

The latest and most atrocious crime of "blood-thirsty imperialism," as Lenin had defined it, is the United States' intervention in Vietnam.

The predatory armed invasion by the US aggressors is not some unforeseen development of Washington policies. It is the result of long conceived plans elaborated at the US military and political headquarters for domination of the world by US imperialism. Proof is contained in the secret Pentagon papers on the preparation of the war in Indochina, made public in June 1971.

These papers confirm what Communists said long ago: the US intervention in Vietnam is the work of the ruling group of this major capitalist country. In the dry language of documentation, line after line, these papers disclose with what cynical calculation over the course of many years both the democratic and republican administrations carried on their cold-blooded preparations for aggression against the people of Vietnam.

They show that it was Truman's administration that pointed the way for US imperialist policy in Vietnam. The relay of aggression was carried for the next stage by the Eisenhower republican ad-

ministration. In January 1954 Eisenhower approved the statement on US goals and policies in Southeast Asia made in the National Security Council. A desire to establish US overlordship in Southeast Asia permeates that document. Moreover, Washington was aiming also at India and the Middle East. And, finally, it was pointed out more or less candidly that US control in that part of the world was considered to be a prerequisite for attaining US interests "in Europe and throughout the world."

These papers fully disclose the cold-blooded manner in which aggression against Vietnam was prepared.

Pentagon headquarters planned the extermination of the population of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in cold blood by US airforce mass bombing. The Joint Chiefs of Staff had drafted a programme for the strategic bombing of all industrial and economic resources of the DRV.

The sinister plans went further. The employment of atomic weapons against the people of Vietnam was under consideration by the Pentagon. Already in the spring of 1954 when the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, Admiral Redford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, supported by Vice-President Nixon and Secretary of State Dulles urged the employment of US tactical atomic weapons to break through the siege. The question of employing nuclear weapons was discussed a second time, as the published documents show, at a meeting of senior US officials in Honolulu in June 1964 attended among others by US Defence Secretary McNamara, State Secretary D. Rusk, CIA Director McCone, et al. But the powerful world movement against the employ-

ment of nuclear weapons precluded the implementation of these inhuman designs.

The aggression being prepared was not confined to Vietnam. Already on January 19, 1961, speaking to Senator J. Kennedy, President Eisenhower pointed out that the key to the whole area of Southeast Asia lay in Laos. In answer to this the future US President merely inquired how long it would take to bring a US division to Laos.

The documents also reveal that President Johnson had approved the plans to attack the Democratic Republic of Vietnam drafted long in advance of the Pentagon-staged Tonkin Bay incident and that he had deliberately concealed from the American people his intention to send a 500-thousand-strong US contingent to Vietnam.

These criminal plans were put into effect step by step.

The US aggression against South Vietnam has been one of unbelievable callousness and brutality. Hundreds of thousands of tons of napalm have literally burned up vast areas in South Vietnam. Almost one-and-a-half million Vietnamese have been poisoned as a result of the use of chemical weapons and many have died. Millions of people are contained in the so-called strategic hamlets which are in fact US-style concentration camps. The American policy of genocide is being implemented on an increasingly large scale. The village of Song My and its inhabitants, totally destroyed by the invaders, the death camp on the island of Pulo-Condor, typify the savagery of the Pentagon and its henchmen.

Breaking its own pledges and commitments Washington is continuing to expand its aggressive operations against the Vietnamese people.

Following its announcement that bombing of the DRV would stop, the US dropped 15,000 bombs and shot 2,000 rockets on the DRV by the end of 1970. In 1971 bombing of the DRV was carried out on an even greater scale.

In 1970 the aggressors extended the flames of war to the whole area of Indochina. Laos and Cambodia both became victims of the US warmongers. In the one month of December, 1970 US bombing of Laos exceeded in destructive power all the bombings ever carried out anywhere in the world in the same period of time.

Tension is also being artificially maintained by the imperialists in the Middle East. In the autumn of 1970 the US 6th fleet was poised to go into action in this area. Further to the South-West fascist Portugal, spurred on and encouraged by the imperialists, attempted to overthrow independent Guinea. The racialsists continue to shed the blood of the freedom-loving people in South Africa.

Not only millions of human lives but huge material resources are swallowed up by the military imperialist Moloch. During the First World War property estimated to be worth 338,000 million dollars was destroyed, and in the Second World War the figure rose to more than 4,000,000 million dollars. The cost of direct military expenditure in the 1914-18 war was 208,000 million dollars. In the Second World War it was 1,380,000 million dollars.

Imperialism has created a military machine unparalleled in history, drawing huge funds from the taxpayer to maintain it. NATO member states have spent 1,250,000 million dollars for military purposes over the 20 years this aggressive alliance has been in existence. In 1970 alone NATO

spent 103 000 million dollars on war preparations

US militarization has assumed the most dangerous nature of all. In the last five years the US Government has spent some 400 000 million dollars for military purposes. But this does not satisfy the militarists and they continue to step up the arms race planning to produce more death-dealing weaponry for decades ahead.

In Vietnam American casualties have been an average 750 killed every week and the material cost to the American people has been 70 million dollars a day. By the end of 1970 the United States had spent approximately 150 000 million dollars on its war in Vietnam. In comparison only 200 million dollars is allocated by the US Government annually for public health education and other social needs.

At the same time hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to suffer from poverty, disease and illiteracy. According to a UN report published in 1970 on the world's food situation, 375 million people live on the verge of starvation in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. One person dies every second in the world today from undernourishment. In Africa one third of all children die before reaching the age of five. In Asia the mortality rate is twice that of the US. What then does imperialism hold in store for the nations of the world? The Indian paper *Hindu* answered this question most expressively in its issue of August 29, 1970. At the end of the previous decade the population of huge areas in South Asia was on the verge of starvation. If resolute measures are not taken soon the nineteen

seventies will face an even greater global crisis—a speedy unemployment rate compared to which the hunger spectre will seem quite insignificant.”

A great achievement of the labour movement has been the establishment of an eight-hour working day. But this is steadily being eroded by capitalism. Living conditions for working people are becoming so difficult and the cost of living is increasing so fast that workers are increasingly compelled to “volunteer” working overtime, sometimes even for two shifts in succession.

Unemployment is becoming an increasing menace to the working class. In 1970 it reached the highest peak in the USA for the last seven years. During the two years of the Nixon administration the number of unemployed has increased by two million. British newspapers, reporting that the figure for unemployment in England had exceeded 800 thousand, called 1970 “the blackest year in post-war England.” By the beginning of 1971 the total number of unemployed in developed capitalist states was close to eight million.

Wherever imperialism has the opportunity to dictate or resort to violence, democratic rights and freedoms of nations are trampled underfoot and military and terrorist regimes are set up. The truth of Lenin’s definition of imperialism as political reaction and total rejection of democracy has been abundantly confirmed.

Thus, in the USA numerous ultra-reactionary, fascist, pro-fascist or simply reactionary organizations are promoted and propped up by the US monopolies. This is only natural since the ruling military industrial complex of the United States creates an atmosphere of violence

leading to the emergence of ultra-Rightist fascist movements. Brutality is the natural consequence of the frustration that underlies the insensate imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Violence, cruelty and killings will continue so long as the United States follows this suicidal blind alley. It is not surprising that such an atmosphere reigning in that major capitalist state spreads to poison the atmosphere in other capitalist countries and, first and foremost, in those countries bound to Washington by NATO.

Imperialism is loathed by the peoples. Naturally, those learned men who serve imperialism make every effort to whitewash the system. Their efforts are lavishly paid for with the taxpayer's money.

The actions of imperialism over the last few years have given more proof of its unchanging reactionary nature. "In this context," pointed out Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, at the Party's 24th Congress, "one must deal above all with US imperialism, which in the last few years has reasserted its urge to act as a kind of guarantor and protector of the international system of exploitation and oppression. It seeks to dominate everywhere, interferes in the affairs of other peoples, high-handedly tramples on their legitimate rights and sovereignty, and seeks by force, bribery and economic penetration to impose its will on states and whole areas of the world."

Although the predatory anti-popular essence of imperialism has not changed and cannot change, this does not mean that modern imperialism has not developed any new qualities. Communists, who tirelessly mobilize the working people in

the continuing struggle against imperialism are the first to analyze these new features and draw the necessary political conclusions from them. A great contribution in this respect has been made by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in 1969 and the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Communists point out that imperialism today is increasingly compelled to adapt to new conditions first and foremost the challenge presented by a powerful opposing social system and in addition the continuing scientific and technological revolution. But no matter what changes imperialism makes in adapting to the new conditions nothing can alter its aggressive enslaving nature.

Striving to stem the tide of socialism and retain their positions the imperialist states are uniting their efforts on an international scale by means of various forms of economic integration. International associations of monopolies are created with the support and participation of imperialist governments. Through integration Big Business appropriates the profits achieved through internationalized production. But this policy has another aspect. It is designed to confront the labour movement with international trust unions and to use the joint economic power of the imperialist states against socialism and the labour movement.

Today the capitalist world is employing more subtle forms of exploitation and oppression of the working people and has learnt to agree to partial reforms when forced in order to keep the people under ideological and political control.

The state-monopolistic features of imperialism

are becoming stronger. Monopoly capital is using the gains of the scientific and technological revolution to consolidate its front in its struggle against socialism and to defend itself from the attacks from within. By linking monopoly forces with those of the state, capitalism hopes to be able to stave off the historical advance of socialism, the progress of the working class movement and all anti-imperialist forces. The economic policies of bourgeois states as well as measures for programming economic development, redistribution of the national income and financing of research are shaped, first and foremost, to meet these goals.

As a result a curious situation develops. On the one hand, the imperialist system as a whole is weakened and its influence on world developments is reduced. On the other hand, some industrial centres of the system show accelerated economic growth, and progress in science and technology.

None of this, of course, means that capitalism has recovered from its ills and is enjoying a "second youth," as its apologists like to assert. Each year, the general crisis of capitalism is becoming more acute. New contradictions are added to those that had previously been in evidence. Even when capitalist countries are able to attain certain economic success this does nothing to remedy deep social and political upheavals. Certain sharp contradictions may be ironed out by manipulations of the capitalist economy, but only at the cost of eroding its socio-economic basis. Economic slumps and recessions have been a regular feature in many capitalist states over the past few decades. Even the most economically

developed capitalist countries have not been free of serious economic difficulties. For almost two years now the USA, for example, has not been able to extricate itself from its latest recession. The last few years have also seen a serious crisis of the capitalist currency system. Inflation has become a constant by-product of the modern imperialist world.

The means imperialism has been employing to prevent a social revolution in the end rebound against itself. State-monopoly capitalism, by creating an enormously far-flung productive system and centralizing its management, leads to an extreme aggravation of the major contradiction of the bourgeois system—the contradiction between the social nature of production and private appropriation of the product. It is becoming increasingly obvious to every nation that a situation whereby productive complexes serving sometimes more than one country are privately owned and controlled by a small group of multi-millionaires is a most unnatural situation. The need to substitute socialist production relations for capitalist ones is now pressing and can no longer be denied.

The key to the understanding of both the general laws of monopoly capitalism and the concrete features which are typical of imperialism at the present stage is supplied by Lenin's theory of imperialism.

Lenin supplied a theoretical explanation for the development of capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. The processes taking place in the economies of the imperialist states today confirm the farsightedness of this analysis. Structural changes evident in monopoly groups of developed

capitalist states in recent years are an example of further malignant growths on the aging capitalist body.

Although the scope for imperialism has narrowed, its predatory nature remains the same. The aggressive beast is obliged to seek out its prey in a forest it no longer owns. It is therefore compelled to alter its strategy. It strives to spot and separate its victims with even greater cunning based on its newly-acquired experience. And despite the fact that the "laws of the jungle" are receding into the past as the world's revolutionary forces advance, imperialism like any hunted animal is maddened and dangerous. It can be neither "tamed" nor "subdued," for it has only one aim in view—aggression.

The centralization of capital resulting from the feverish takeovers that have been such a typical feature of the late 60's and early 70's may be regarded as the highest expression of capitalist cannibalism. Monopolization in the capitalist economy has advanced yet a further stage.

US Communist Party documents point out that three new features of corporation amalgamation are evident in the major capitalist state today: mergers have become totally uncontrolled; as a result giant business corporations are turning into super-giants; monopoly amalgamations create conglomerations unlike the usual "vertical" or "horizontal" associations (the "horizontal" principle implies amalgamation of corporations within one branch of industry; "vertical" mergers are those which are based on the potential or actual consumer and supplier link-up). The ensuing conglomerations are a new type of amalgamation embracing heterogeneous economic units unconnec-

ted by any logic of production technology or marketing Here we have the final expression of the anarchy of capitalist production

International capital is being increasingly Americanized Today's transnational monopolies are first and foremost giant US corporations which have crossed borders and oceans According to the *Economist* there were 30 American and 26 non American (West European and Japanese) transnational corporations in the world by the late nineteen sixties It should be noted however that the American corporations are five times larger on the average than the leading British or West German monopolies in their respective fields and ten times the size of the French ones

In the US these corporations are called globally thinking companies Robert Stevenson Ford's Executive Vice President for International Automotive Operations has declared matter of factly It is our goal to be in every single country there is We at Ford Motor Co look at a world map without any boundaries We carry a lot of flags

The USA is the world's largest bank exporter today Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank for example has 1 600 branches abroad besides the hundreds of foreign banks it controls It is a huge private empire and the largest shareholder of the US military industrial complex With the emergence of bank controlled industrial conglomerations US imperialism has received a new weapon Whole branches of industry and governments of other states are put under its control through the banks thus raising the system of imperialist domination to a higher stage In this way it is able to subject enslaved nations to

even harsher domination.

The creation of US enterprises abroad is becoming an important element of all US imperialist political strategies. According to Congressional Committee estimates, US enterprises abroad produce 150,000 million dollars' worth of goods annually, which is five times the value of export goods produced in the United States itself. Many corporations produce less at home than at their enterprises abroad. General Electric, for instance, has production facilities in over one hundred countries of the world. The US bank of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company has released a study which shows that today US monopolies sell 200,000 million dollars' worth of goods annually in foreign countries. Almost 90 per cent of these goods are produced at US-controlled foreign enterprises.

War production has long been a major source of enrichment for US imperialist monopolies. Never before, however, has this sinister occupation assumed such a scale as in the post-war period.

Having geared the greatest scientific discoveries of our age, nuclear energy first and foremost, to goals of mass annihilation, US imperialism has engaged in a massive arms build-up of an historically unprecedented, dangerous nature. The American press has cold-bloodedly estimated how many thousands of times the US nuclear stockpile exceeds the destructive power of all explosives used in the Second World War. But the obsession with violence does not end there. Plans are drafted to use space for military purposes, new types of multicharged nuclear missiles and other types of mass annihilation weaponry, chemical and biological included, are being developed.

In the pursuit of huge profits the US warmongers use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to produce the means of mass annihilation and increasingly sophisticated and expensive weaponry. At present new systems of strategic weapons are being developed that will require, according to press estimates, additional annual expenditure of many thousands of millions of dollars in the early seventies. But even this is merely the visible part of the huge iceberg of military allocations demanded by the Pentagon. Some Western military specialists have expressed the view that new discoveries in science and military weaponry may revive speculation in favour of the so-called preventive war. The consequences of this kind of reasoning can readily be imagined.

The United States, naturally, will not be able to find a solution to its acute domestic crises or a way out of the morass in which its foreign policies have landed it so long as it persists in the senseless stockpiling of arms in the belief that force is the answer to all problems. Meanwhile humanity is being increasingly endangered. Imperialism in its death throes may attempt to destroy mankind. Historical developments have confirmed the truth of Lenin's observation that the typical tendency of imperialism is to use the achievements of science and technology for annihilation and destruction. At a certain stage, he wrote, this tendency "might... undermine the very foundations of human society." (*Lenin Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 422.)

The force which is mobilizing the nations of the world in the fight against the growing imperialist menace is the international force of

Communists. With the realism that characterises Marxist-Leninists, they point out that although imperialism as a world system is gradually giving way, it remains a serious and dangerous opponent. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties found that revolutionary forces today are presented with new opportunities but that "at the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many people and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress.

"The existing situation demands united action of Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war." (International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, p. 11.)

It is the Communists who expose the newest tactics used by imperialism in its struggle against the advancing progressive forces of the world.

With the aggravated general crisis of capitalism imperialist strategy is increasingly being geared to class goals, to the undermining of the labour movement and the national liberation revolutions. The sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions do not change the global strategy of imperialism which is aimed at weakening, undermining and splitting up the revolutionary forces of the world. A country standing in isolation is likely to find it difficult to counter this strategy. But against the joint concerted action of all revolutionary units and anti-imperialist forces imperialism is powerless. Communists point out

that today there are realistic conditions for routing imperialism by such combined action.

As a consequence of the consolidation of socialism in the world new, formerly unknown laws have come into evidence. Predatory imperialist wars are no longer a fatal inevitability and the real possibility now exists of banning world wars. The humane principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social structures and respect for the rights and interests of people, championed and implemented by socialism, are increasingly replacing the subjugation and enslavement of nations that is the hallmark of predatory imperialism. Socialism by the mere fact of its existence and its support for the victims of imperialism is radically changing the prospects of development for those countries frequently referred to as the "Third World." Without the active assistance of the socialist states to former colonial countries the latter would have found it much more difficult to break the shackles of dependence and to effect any economic, social or political changes in their life.

Socialism has taken permanent root on earth. It is important to remember, however, that its achievements have been attained through intensive, sharp and constant struggle. Experience has shown that the establishment and consolidation of the world system of socialist states is a complex and difficult process. Speaking at the Seventh Extraordinary Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Lenin pointed out the inevitability of complexities in the struggle for socialism and the inevitability of frequent zigzags in the course of this struggle. He warned that "...there will be very many of them—we have

seen from experience what gigantic turns the history of the revolution has made and so far it is only in our own country matters will be much more complicated and proceed much more rapidly the rate of development will be more furious and the turns will be more intricate when the revolution becomes a European revolution (Lenin *Coll Works* Vol 27 p 129) The road to socialism Lenin taught will never be straight it will be incredibly involved (Ibid)

In building and consolidating the new world social system the working class working people and their communist vanguard have to fight their way in serious class struggle Socialist countries faced with new complex problems must overcome the difficult heritage of a capitalist background and withstand the latest imperialist designs

The aim of the imperialists today is to turn back the wheel of history at whatever cost in order to preserve the plunderings of capitalism to undermine and if possible to break up the world system of socialism Striving to attain this objective they are joining forces resorting to all methods of struggle including extensive use of political and ideological subversion The enemies of socialism can see the indomitable strength and stability of socialism They have realized that the secret of the Soviet Union's achievements and those of other socialist countries consists in the fact that they are headed by a party of a new Leninist type with entirely new qualities The history of world socialism confirms Lenin's conclusion that only the Communist Party if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class if it really comprises all the finest representatives of

that class, if it consists of fully conscious and staunch Communists who have been educated and steeled by the experience of a persistent revolutionary struggle, and if it has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the whole life of its class and, through it, with the whole mass... and in completely winning the confidence of this class and this mass—only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat." (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 187-188.)

The enemy, therefore, seeks to strike at this historic gain of the working class. His tactic is to do this in a devious way, and so he looks for cracks and chinks in the edifice of socialism.

Imperialism has been concentrating its efforts on undermining the socialist countries from within. It is seeking out the remnants of the exploiting classes defeated by the revolution as well as surviving counter-revolutionary forces which eagerly await the chance to make use of any emerging complication in their attempt to wrest away the gains of socialism.

Imperialism, as is known, has repeatedly attempted to use such a method as direct armed counter-revolutionary coups in its struggle with socialism. The events in Hungary in 1956 are graphic illustration of this. However, the defeat of anti-socialist forces in this collision compelled the imperialist policy-makers to look for other methods. The next major plot against world socialism was undertaken in Czechoslovakia and prepared with even greater thoroughness and perfidy. It showed that the enemies of socialism are compelled to abandon the direct frontal methods of the "cold war" period and employ certain differentiation towards socialist states. By this

means they hope to make use of the specific historical, economic and national features of a country selected as the object of their criminal endeavours and capitalize on the difficulties experienced in the building of a new society.

In Czechoslovakia imperialism reckoned on using as its main weapon Right-wing revisionist forces who in their anti-socialist activities actually joined hands with the nation's foreign enemies. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party of that time had proved incapable of leading the Party and the nation. The Party yielded one position after another to enemy forces. As a result imperialism received the opportunity to realize a plan it had long been nurturing. A political bloc of revisionist and anti-socialist forces came into being. Under pressure from this bloc, which received all-round political, moral and material backing from the imperialist forces, a process of disintegration began in the main structure of the Party, the socialist state and Czechoslovak society.

As a result of the deep crisis in the Party as well as in the whole of Czechoslovak society the healthy forces were temporarily paralyzed and unable to mobilize themselves to stop the frontal onslaught of counter-revolution. "Under such conditions," declared the document adopted by the 1970 December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, "it was necessary to make the decision—either to wait while counter-revolution unleashed a fratricidal struggle in the course of which thousands of people might perish and only later could international aid be offered, or to render timely assistance and pre-

vent a bloody tragedy even at the price of misunderstanding both inside and outside the country. The movement of allied forces into Czechoslovakia on August 21 1968 prevented such a bloodshed and consequently it was a necessary and the only correct decision.

The events in Czechoslovakia bared one of the newest tactics of the class enemies of socialism that of first attempting to undermine socialism under the flag of so called liberalization and democratization and later eliminating the power of the people. These enemies know that the source of any socialist country's power and success lies in the leadership of the Communist Party firmly adhering to the internationalist position. The goal of the enemies of communism therefore is the weakening of Communist Parties. The enemies realize that every socialist country's inviolability is guaranteed by the socialist community and staunch friendship with the Soviet Union the stronghold of world socialism. The enemies of socialism hope for nothing so much as a weakening of ties among socialist countries and do everything they can to sow seeds of mistrust between the USSR and other socialist states and the Communist Parties.

Marxist Leninists have been able to see through this enemy tactic however and will ensure its frustration.

The heart of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia its best forces have gone through the test of battle with honours. They barred the muddy wave of anti socialist hysteria and national bourgeois chauvinism. The socialist gains in Czechoslovakia have been defended and the bourgeois elements the Right wing revisionists who

had attempted to turn the country towards the restoration of capitalism under the guise of improving and reviving socialism have been defeated

Czechoslovak Marxist Leninists have won the battle for their Party and achieved its consolidation on the principles of Marxism Leninism and socialist internationalism. Their achievement has been consolidated by the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held in May 1971 which may rightfully be regarded as a congress of victory over the enemies of socialism in the Czechoslovak republic a congress of the triumph of socialism

The attempt to weaken the international communist movement from within and thus demoralize the Communist Parties and other revolutionary forces the endeavour to incite socialist states against one another are all pertinent component parts of the latest strategies and tactics of imperialism and its agents in the struggle against the world socialist communist and national liberation movements. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties has exposed imperialism's methods and designs and appealed to all forces that hold the cause of peace progress and freedom of nations close to heart to resolutely frustrate the dangerous plots of imperialism

Nations of the World Against Imperialism

A Decisive Force

To give a correct evaluation of developments in the world arena it is necessary to single out the most decisive tendencies of world development and separate them from those that are not so crucially important, although they too must be taken into consideration. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties showed that Communists are well able to do this. The documents drafted by the Meeting and, first and foremost, the document entitled "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces" contain a deep scientific analysis of modern world development.

For Communists have given an answer to the basic question: where is the modern world heading and what is the balance of forces in it?

Having analyzed the world's development the participants of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties arrived at the conclusion that the historical experience of the sixties, taken as a whole, confirmed the fact that

the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces were able not only to defend their gains but to expand them. The world revolutionary movement, despite the difficulties and failures of some of its units, was continuing its offensive. Counter-attacks by imperialism could not change the general balance of forces in its favour. Despite all its efforts imperialism was no longer able to shape the course of world development. A world system in which imperialism had arbitrarily ruled the destiny of mankind had been swept away by socialist and national liberation revolutions.

The basic document of the Meeting stated that *"Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces."*

The profound qualitative changes in the life of mankind taking place on our planet as a result of the transforming and creative activities of the international working class and its political vanguard—the Communist Parties—have become especially evident in the late sixties and early seventies of the 20th century.

The epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution has resulted in a deep-ploughing of the Earth's political soil. A crop is growing on this soil which gladdens the hearts of the fighters of the great international army for peace and freedom, democracy and socialism.

The revolutionary changes taking place affect the destinies not only of separate countries and peoples or some social groups and classes. The routes of the great social revolution lie across

all parts and continents of the world. They are to be found in industrially developed capitalist states and former colonial and dependent countries. The working class and peasantry, the intellectuals and the youth, the middle classes of society in town and village are all affected by these radical changes. The social upheaval changing the face of the world is of a universal and irreversible nature.

The leading force in this historical process is the world socialist system. The new social system has taken strong root in the life of the modern world, turning it towards socialism and progress and radically changing the development of world history.

The Marxist and Leninist Parties heading a big group of the world's countries are fully aware of their great responsibility, their internationalist duty. Communists in socialist states true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, guided in their activities by Lenin's behests, are doing their utmost in every job they undertake at home and are rendering the greatest possible assistance to other revolutionary states.

The world socialist system has now been in existence for a quarter of a century. This is a sufficient period of time from which to draw certain conclusions and sum up the results. Such a summing up was made at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the CPSU report to the Congress, Comrade Brezhnev pointed out that from the standpoint of the development of revolutionary theory and practice the past years had been exceptionally fruitful. The socialist world had given the communist and working class movement experience which was of

tremendous, truly historic importance.

This experience shows that socialism, which is firmly established in the states now constituting the world socialist system, has proved its superiority in the historical contest with capitalism.

The formation and strengthening of the world socialist system has considerably accelerated the historical progress sparked off by the Great October Revolution. New prospects have opened up for the triumph of socialism all over the world; world events have provided confirmation of the conclusion drawn by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that "the world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle."

The world socialist system has been making a vital contribution to the task, which is of such overriding importance for all peoples, of preventing another world war. Many of the imperialist aggressors' plans have been frustrated thanks to the existence of the world socialist system and its firm action.

Success in socialist construction largely depends on the correct combination of the general and the nationally specific in social development. It has been established that the road to socialism, its main features, are determined by general laws which are inherent in the development of all socialist countries. It has also been established that these general laws take different forms according to concrete historical conditions and specific national features. It is impossible to build socialism without observing these general laws or without taking account of the specific historical features of each country. Nor is it possible without proper consideration of both of

these factors to develop relations between the socialist states correctly.

The growth and consolidation of socialism continues irrevocably. The share of socialist countries in world industrial and agricultural production is growing steadily, and the fruits of scientific and technological progress are being used with increasing efficiency to consolidate socialism and raise the people's living standards. At present the situation on the fronts of the anti-imperialist struggle is largely determined by the economic competition between socialism and capitalism. In this respect socialist states have scored many achievements. For example, the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, over the last decade, have increased their national incomes by 93 per cent, compared to only 63 per cent achieved by developed capitalist states in the same period. Accounting for 18 per cent of the world's territory and 10 per cent of its population, the CMEA states produce approximately one-third of the world's industrial output.

Socialism today plays such a significant part in world economy that the growth rates of socialist production have become an important factor in accelerating the total rate of world production. Thus, in the period 1951-69 annual industrial production in the capitalist states increased on the average by 5.6 per cent, whereas the world figure was seven per cent. The world figure was so high because the industrial growth rate of the socialist countries stood at 10.5 per cent.

The steady advance of the Soviet Union, the foremost socialist power in the world, is expressed above all in a comparison of its economic growth rates with those of capitalist countries. It took the

USA 20 years to double its national income, Britain 30 years, West Germany 15 years and the Soviet Union, with its vast scale of social production, 10 years.

In terms of industrial output it took the USA 18 years to double its production, Britain 22 years, West Germany over 11 years, and the Soviet Union—eight and a half years.

To double their basic production assets, the USA took 22 years, Britain 19 years, West Germany 10 years, and the Soviet Union eight years. Such are the strides made by the socialist economy. They are evidence of balanced and dynamic economic development.

The following facts are illustrative of the scale of Soviet production: the gross national product has increased 41 times over in the years of Soviet power. In the one year, 1970, industrial output was almost double that produced during all the pre-war five-year plans taken together. The volume of output in the USSR is today greater than the combined output of such developed industrial states as Britain, France, West Germany and Italy. The Soviet Union holds a leading position today in many fields of fundamental and applied research, in the elaboration of technology based on entirely new principles revolutionizing production, in the penetration of the secrets of the structure of matter as well as space exploration.

The success of world socialism is assuming ever greater international significance. Every achievement in the construction of socialism and communism is followed with keen interest by the working people in capitalist countries and creates more favourable conditions for the victory of socialism all over the world. The working people

of the world regard the success of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries as their own victory and their own future. The decisive advance of the USSR signifies a qualitative change in the whole communist and working class movement and an increasingly important factor influencing its future development.

Soviet people, like the people of other socialist countries, are rightfully proud of their achievements. But they do not conceal the fact that in the course of constructing a new society they are inevitably confronted with complex problems and that there are still problems for which solutions have yet to be found. There have been shortcomings and errors in the development of the national economy, for the socialist world today, with all its achievements, prospects and problems, is still a young, growing social organism which is not yet quite settled and still bears an imprint of past historical epochs. The world of socialism is in constant movement and is constantly being improved. Its development, naturally, proceeds in struggle with the old through resolution of internal controversies. The most important thing, however, is that the problems facing the new world are those of growing pains.

Whereas capitalism seeks to temporarily lessen the acuteness of its problems with measures that are detrimental to the majority of the people, socialism's problems are resolved with the active participation of the people in a way which meets their vital interests and promotes the ideals of socialist democracy.

Together with the Soviet Union other socialist countries, too, are advancing along the path of progress. Communists in these countries are mobi-

lizing the working people towards helping world socialism develop all its enormous potential advantages and achieve decisive superiority.

World socialism today is mature. It is ready to tackle the most complex problems. With the nineteen-seventies the socialist countries will enter a qualitatively new stage of modern development of production. Greater cooperation among socialist states on the basis of a rational division of labour and specialization will be the moving force of this process, leading to a merging of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

A broad development of the technological revolution has today become one of the main fronts of the historical competition between capitalism and socialism. In the Soviet Union the efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet people are aimed at achieving maximum results in this competition. Soviet people have had great success in this respect. But they do not underestimate the strength of their opponents in the scientific and technical competition. The struggle promises to be lengthy and difficult. The working people of the Soviet Union are determined to see it through and demonstrate the superiority of socialism here as well. This is both to the interest of communist construction in the USSR and of the world socialist system as well as the revolutionary and liberation movement.

Communists believe that success will be all the quicker, the more working people are involved in active social reconstruction and communist up-building. That is why the further development of democracy and consolidation of the socialist state

are constantly in the forefront of attention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of other socialist states.

Despite the imperialist machinations, the international prestige and influence of the world socialist system, as well as the influence of the international working class and national liberation movements upon world development continues to grow. Socialism has been victorious in one-third of the world and is all the time winning more support in the major ideological battle of the 20th century.

The world system of socialism is the most important historical achievement of the international working class. Having a powerful economic and political potential and reliable means of frustrating imperialist ventures, the socialist system is maintaining its historical initiative in the world arena. The example of the socialist states imbues the international working class movement with revolutionary optimism and strengthens its confidence that the acute economic and political struggle with the class enemy today, no matter how complicated it is or what unexpected turns it may take, will ultimately end in the victory of labour over capital.

To work for this great achievement is the demand of the times. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties laid down in its basic document that: "The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule. To give a firm rebuff to these attempts is an essential function of the so-

cialist state which relies on the broad masses led by the working class and its communist vanguard

The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists

The Attacking Class

Alongside the world socialist system other great revolutionary forces of our times the international working class and national liberation movements play an important part on the anti imperialist front

Blows dealt at imperialism in its citadels are of great significance for the ultimate outcome of the global struggle In the capitalist world the pressures of popular demand for social change have become acute and the anti imperialist front is broadening Favourable prerequisites have been created for uniting all democratic movements in a political union capable of resolutely limiting the role of monopolies in capitalist economies putting an end to the reign of big business and bringing about such radical transformations as would promote favourable conditions in the struggle for socialism

The fact that the world's working class movement is becoming a major political factor is of great significance

The founders of the communist movement Marx and Engels proclaimed that the world historical mission of the working class was to overthrow capitalism to build a new just and perfect society communism to overcome natio

nal animosity and create a fraternal union of the working people of all countries. The fulfilment of this mission since then has advanced greatly.

Witnessing the qualitative changes taking place in the modern world, the standard-bearer of the new epoch—the working class—may declare with legitimate pride: "These historical achievements proclaiming the dawn of liberty and happiness for mankind are, first and foremost, something created by my own hands, my own brain and are an indicator of my power!"

The working class is the largest and most influential class in modern society.

In socialist countries there are over 150 million workers. This unit of the world proletariat is in action in all decisive areas of international class struggles and is building socialism, the bastion of progress and civilization. The working class bears the brunt of historical responsibility.

In the non-socialist world the working class comprises 370 million people. Its nucleus is the industrial proletariat of large enterprises. The technological revolution, far from leading to the disappearance of the working class, increases its ranks, especially in such new branches of industry as the atomic industry, rocketry, and electronics. The army of hired labour includes the overwhelming majority of the employable population. In the USA, for example, hired labour makes up 86 per cent of the employable population, in Britain—93.1 per cent, in Japan—60 per cent, etc.

But it is not, of course, merely a question of numbers. There has been a marked qualitative change in the working class movement. It has become much more organized, has created its own political parties and mass trade unions and its

demonstrations have assumed a more pronounced political colouring.

The great mission of the working class in the second half of the 20th century has been revealed in all spheres of society. Historical experience, that of the Soviet Union first and foremost, confirms that the victory of the working class ensures:

- in the economic field—elimination of crises and chaos, planned development of productive forces, and technological progress in the interests of the entire society;

- in the political field—elimination of enslavement and the arbitrary rule of the financial oligarchy, genuine power of the people, real freedom of the personality, genuine culture for the people;

- in the sphere of national relations—elimination of all forms of national oppression, establishment of trust, fraternity and friendship among peoples;

- in international relations—elimination of the causes of predatory imperialist wars, establishment of a stable peace among nations, reliable conditions to prevent a world nuclear holocaust, and support of the revolutionary liberation movements in other countries. The historical mission of the working class to deliver the world from capitalism is especially evident today when the emergence of nuclear missile weapons has turned the question of war and peace into a life and death issue for millions of people.

The bourgeoisie has always asserted its domination with the help of nationalism—by fanning national animosity, inciting one nation against another in order to prepare for the unleashing of world wars. The working class rejects this incitement of nation against nation and state against

state. Peace and friendship among nations, and mutual assistance in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism—such is the internationalist banner of the proletariat.

The working class, Marx pointed out, must prove that it is "an independent force aware of its responsibility and ability to impose the peace." (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 373, Rus. Ed.) Such proof was first provided by the Russian proletariat and later by the working class of other countries. Today the international working class is convincingly showing by its mounting action against the imperialist war-mongers that it has a determined interest in securing peace, is indeed aware of its responsibility and is capable of imposing peace on bellicose imperialism.

For decades the Right-wing Social-Democrats have been disparaging the revolutionary potential of the working class in capitalist states and its ability to rise in active anti-monopoly struggle and to lead the large body of the working people. They have insisted that post-war capitalism had allegedly developed some sort of new stability which promised a lengthy period of class tranquillity. Communists have always rejected this defeatist view. Developments over the last few years in the working class and general democratic movements of leading capitalist states have shown that in this respect, too, the Communists have proved to be right.

In the centre of the political clashes shaking the capitalist world stands the working class. It combines demonstrations against the political ventures of the imperialist ruling circles with struggle against the domination of monopoly capital, with the fight for the basic rights, demo-

cracy and social progress, and heads this struggle with ever greater confidence.

Of recent years new qualities have developed in the working-class movement of developed capitalist states: greater vigilance, political awareness and purposefulness of the proletarian movement as a whole; the working class movement is on the verge of direct political clashes with the state-monopoly apparatus;

the working people have become better organized and more mature; the working class movement has greater organized power, a more militant spirit, borne out by the fact that the trade union movement is growing and uniting increasing numbers of working people (about 230 million people are today members of trade unions—almost half of all industrial workers and office staff);

the strike movement has reached a higher level; going beyond the limits of a purely economic struggle, the working class movement is beginning to make national political demands; general strikes are becoming more extensive, embracing the most vital branches of the national economy and setting the tone for the whole working class struggle; the social basis for the strike movement has also been spreading; engineers and technicians, as well as office staff and other social strata, are increasingly active in the movement;

economic demands are closely linked with protest against the anti-popular political course of the ruling circles and against military imperialist ventures; strikes that include demands for an end to the aggressive war in Vietnam, for example, are on the increase.

All these changes have a growing significance

in that they are taking place in connection with a vitally important factor for the revolutionary movement—the consolidation of the positions of the Communist Parties and their advance towards new frontiers in the political life of their countries.

Developments in the capitalist world today fully confirm the significance of the working class as the major and strongest adversary of monopoly power, as the centre of gravity of the anti-imperialist forces.

Powerful strike waves of the proletariat are sweeping the whole capitalist world. From 1960 to 1969 the numbers involved in strike action in the industrially developed capitalist countries amounted to 360 million people, more than double the number of strikers for the preceding 14 years. There were upwards of 250 nationwide strikes alone in the capitalist world during the nineteen-sixties.

In such countries as France and Italy where traditions of class struggle are more developed and strong Communist Parties exist, the onslaught of the working people is against the whole system of state-monopoly domination. In England the class struggle has reached a high degree of tension and its scale and number of participants are comparable to the general strike of 1926. In the USA working class action against the monopolies has been growing rapidly, and the struggle of the black people for equality, and the nationwide protest movement, especially of the youth, against the war in Vietnam have developed with unprecedented intensity. Even President Nixon has been compelled to admit that the sixties for the United States have been a period of the sharpest social

clashes for the last 100 years. In West Germany a mass working class movement is also on the upsurge. For the first time in many decades large-scale class collisions have taken place in the Scandinavian countries as well as in Holland—states which reformists have attempted to cite as examples of "social harmony." The socio-political crisis in Spain, too, is getting worse. In all class struggles of the recent period the role of trade unions continues to grow, especially those that are united in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

By analyzing these developments Communists have come to the conclusion that the present large-scale battles of the working class are forerunners of more class battles which may lead to fundamental social transformations and the establishment of the power of the working class together with other strata of the working people. Communists are intensifying their work of organizing and consolidating the working class and are doing their utmost to help the proletariat realize its historical mission of liberating humanity from the capitalist yoke.

In Line Formation

Imperialism is being attacked not only in the centres of its domination. Its positions are under pressure also from the forces that have evolved from the national liberation struggle.

During the last decade hundreds of millions of people celebrated the beginning of their national liberation as they threw off the imperialist colo-

nial yoke after struggle and suffering.

In the period from 1960 to 1969 alone, 44 former colonies won independence.

An important achievement of the revolutionary forces which is at the same time a defeat for imperialism is the socialist orientation of several young states in Africa and Asia. Lenin's conclusion that in the modern epoch nations liberating themselves from the colonial yoke may follow the road of social progress, bypassing capitalism, has been confirmed. There are today states in Asia and Africa which have taken the non-capitalist road of development with the goal of building a socialist society. One of the most important prerequisites for such development is the cooperation of young progressive states with socialist countries, and contact of the revolutionary democratic parties in these states with the Communist and Workers' Parties. Imperialism and its agents are doing everything they can to prevent this development but the fact remains: liberated countries have embarked upon a new path of development. The struggle for national liberation in many countries actually develops into a struggle against relations of exploitation—both feudal and capitalist. Communists look upon the growth of national awareness with understanding and sympathy and support these countries in their struggle for their national interests in every possible way.

The forms of struggle against imperialist domination taken by the national and social liberation forces are many and varied. Thus, in socialist-oriented countries imperialist monopoly property is being nationalized. This makes it pos-

sible to consolidate and develop the state sector which is in fact the economic basis of revolutionary and democratic policies. In such a country as the United Arab Republic the state sector embraces 85 per cent of all industrial production today. In Burma the state sector controls 80 per cent of the mining and about 60 per cent of the processing industries. New and far reaching measures for nationalizing imperialist property have been implemented in Algeria. Many foreign enterprises, banks and commercial companies have been taken over by the state in Guinea, Somalia and Tanzania.

In many liberated countries measures have been taken to resolve such a complex question affecting the destinies of millions of peasants as the problem of land. Important agrarian transformations have taken place in the UAR and Syria. A beginning has been made in Somalia and Algeria. In the People's Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) all the land and its national resources have become the property of the state.

To accomplish a radical change of a non capitalist nature in backward social relations is however no easy matter especially in the face of continued interference on the part of the neo colonialists and attacks by internal reaction. Growing social differentiation is a feature of the newly free countries. There is a mounting conflict between the working class, the peasants and other democratic forces including patriotically minded petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and imperialism and internal reaction with those elements of the national bourgeoisie who are willing to come to terms with imperialism on the other.

In some of the newly-emergent states the working class has been playing a greater social and political role. The peasants are becoming more active in the struggle against imperialism, and anti-imperialist action by the youth has intensified. The expansion of international contacts between the growing proletariat of Afro-Asian countries and the working class of socialist and capitalist states is increasingly important for the development of the anti-imperialist struggle. One of the most active forms of contacts are those between the national democratic parties and Communist and Workers' Parties. They were established about ten years ago when three Revolutionary Democratic Parties from Tropical Africa were represented for the first time at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. At the 24th Congress of the CPSU there were delegations already from 19 national democratic parties.

In solving the basic problems of eliminating the vestiges of their colonial past the national liberation movements look to the experience of socialist states and establish various contacts with them. There is a growing realization among newly-independent states of the importance of maintaining contact with the socialist world. This is evidence of a deep crisis of the bourgeois conception and an indication of the newly-free nations wishing to depart from the road of capitalist development. In the struggle between capitalism and socialism young independent countries are confidently joining forces with the socialist world. Claude Ernest Ndalla, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour, speaking from the rostrum of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, said:

"The Congolese Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Congo inspired by it, holds similar positions to the CPSU and the Soviet Government on many international issues. The reason for this is simple: both our Parties in their foreign policies proceed from the principles of anti-imperialist struggle and proletarian internationalism. To unite the socialist states, the international working class and national liberation movements into one mighty stream and in this way to accelerate the defeat of world imperialism, must become the aim of all people who are opposed to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and fascism. That is why the CPL believes that anti-communism in the national liberation movement is a crime. Our Party and people do not accept philosophical concepts and allegations aiming to isolate the Africans from the rest of the world. We are creators, and people for us is the most important thing. And we have no right to live away from the rest of the world under the pretext of Negro exclusiveness, or come out against the general truths of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism."

The socio-economic development of young national states takes different forms in different countries. It is important, however, that the struggle against the forces of reaction, against imperialism and its agents is proceeding everywhere. In some countries progressive forces have already attained considerable success. Among recent developments, for instance, has been the nationalization of large banks in India and the impressive victory over the Right-wing forces at the latest elections to the House of the People of the Indian Parliament. The popular masses in India are reso-

lutely opposing the reactionary pro-imperialist forces and are pressing for the implementation of land reform measures and other socio-economic changes, for a policy of peace and friendship on the international scene. Great social changes have also taken place in Ceylon and Nigeria.

Despite all the complexities and occasional defeats a diversified process of social change is taking place in vast areas of the world. Working people are achieving important victories in the struggle for their rights, genuine liberty and human dignity. A courageous struggle is being waged by the patriots of countries still under the colonial yoke.

The recent period has been marked by an expanding anti-imperialist liberation struggle in Africa. This great continent is shaking off the political domination of colonialism. But it is a difficult task for young national states to advance along the road of progress. Neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological penetration and enslavement; armed interference in some countries and reactionary coup d'etats in others; political and military support of anti-national cliques, especially the fascist and racialist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia; the fanning of interstate conflicts and intertribal animosities; economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all of these methods have been used by the imperialist powers to counter the liberation struggle and preserve and consolidate their positions in Africa. African patriots are striving to overcome this imperialist onslaught, unite all anti-imperialist progressive forces and defend the national interests of their peoples.

The Turbulent Continent

An area of turbulent, popular anti-imperialist struggle is Latin America. The whole great continent has risen in wrath against hated US imperialism.

The struggle in Latin America is taking various forms: strikes, street fighting, student demonstrations, popular action, patriotic manifestations of the military, people's revolts as in the Dominican Republic. There are combinations of legal and illegal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary, economic, political, armed and other forms of struggle.

The people of Latin American countries have concluded that they will never overcome poverty and misfortune so long as they are in a dependent state and forced to follow the road of capitalism condemned by history. Neither their North American "patrons," reformism, or obsolete Right-wing "liberalism" can offer the peoples of Latin America any escape from the existing system which essentially and inevitably leads to continued impoverishment of the majority of the population and further degradation of the Latin Americas. Today a popular, anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchy revolution is taking shape throughout the whole of Latin America.

The Cuban revolution has become the prologue of a broad revolutionary movement throughout the continent. This movement is deepening from year to year. The revolution in Cuba has confirmed the fact that guarantee of the successful development of the liberation movement in Latin America is its close connection with the world socialist

system and the international communist movement. History itself has refuted the far-fetched arguments about the so-called third position according to which the Latin American liberation movement is advised to separate itself from the world socialist system, the world army of Communists and other fighters against imperialism.

The development of the class liberation struggle confirms that in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism the existence of a world socialist system and the leading role of the proletariat in this struggle unites and brings the national liberation revolution closer to a socialist revolution in the one general stream of the world revolutionary process. This is also true of Latin America where the advanced fighters against imperialism are at the same time fighters for socialism.

It is the working class that is in the vanguard of these important developments taking place on the Latin American continent.

The victory at the last presidential elections in such a large Latin American country as Chile of the National Coalition of Unity, headed by the workers' parties and organizations, is especially noteworthy. This victory is convincing proof that the Latin American liberation movement is undergoing pronounced qualitative changes. The Chilean experience is of great significance, for it has shown the need for unity among the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy forces. The Chilean lesson shows that victory lies in unity.

The Communist Party of Chile played a major role in achieving the unity of the people and guaranteeing victory at the polls. The decisive factor in this respect was the Communist Party's

line to unite the working class and the whole people a conception of the Chilean revolution elaborated by it as well as its steadfast observance of principle flexible tactics and persistent work with the people Of great importance also was the consistent consolidation of mutual understanding between the Socialists and the Communists over the last 15 years

The communist policy is being increasingly better understood and supported by the Chilean Socialist Party In view of the situation and Chile's historical destiny we Socialists said Comrade Herman del Canto head of the Chilean Socialist Party delegation at the 24th Congress of the CPSU believe that the essential determining factor in the process we are living through is the unity of the working class with the popular revolutionary forces And we regard the union of Communists and Socialists as the nucleus of the revolutionary experience which we intend to develop We are ready to consolidate and strengthen this unity

Even in the short period the Government of National Unity headed by President Salvador Allende has been in office the working people of Chile have had time to see for themselves that the Government is fully determined to put its programme into practice and take all measures to restore to the country its national wealth Some of these measures include the nationalizing of the private banks insurance companies and large industrial monopolies and establishing control of foreign trade The production of steel coal mining basic iron ore deposits two large cement plants and some big textile enterprises have already passed over to the Chilean state

"The system of measures included in the Government's Programme of National Unity," said Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, "opens the road for the creation of a socialist society in Chile. Naturally, the road of revolutionary transformation and the movement towards socialism in our country have their own specific features. We have come into office through the election poll, and are implementing revolutionary transformations in accordance with constitutional norms and Chilean law. Facts have shown that in the concrete case of Chile this is quite feasible. Naturally, we shall not overlook the need to change the obsolete legal and constitutional systems. We also know that all socialist revolutions have common laws of development. I believe that the revolutionary process in Chile will be successful due to the fact that there are conditions for its development within the framework of these laws."

The process in Chile is graphic evidence of those great changes which are a sign of the times all over the Latin American continent. Concrete anti-imperialist goals are no longer merely a slogan for Communists. The flame of common struggle of all Latin American peoples for their national independence is sweeping the continent today.

The peasants in Latin American countries are increasingly becoming aware of their rights. Youth, especially the students, become involved in the revolutionary movement on a growing scale, and in the common struggle of workers, peasants, intellectuals and the middle classes the youth student movement is becoming an effective anti-imperialist force.

The ranks of fighters for national freedom and sovereignty are being joined today by people who previously had not participated in this struggle. This is especially true in the case of Peru of recent years. An example typical of the political life of the modern world is the changed role of the military in some countries' historical destinies.

Military takeovers have come to be a traditional feature of Latin American history. In the last 150 years the continent has witnessed several hundred coup d'etats. In most cases they were purely military takeovers. The military regimes seizing power usually deteriorated quickly and took up reactionary stands preserving the most backward and anti-popular social structures servile to Washington. Events in Peru have shown that in some Latin American states national military power is beginning to slip away from US imperialism. A phenomenon that may be called the new generation of the military has emerged. This generation has no wish to support the corrupt regimes but instead is interested in socio-economic reforms, in eliminating archaic social structures and foreign imperialist dependence in the national interest. In modern times events have shown that there are no closed social institutions immune to new ideas and fresh winds spreading throughout the world.

A typical feature of the new stage in the liberation struggle of Latin America is the consolidation of Communist Parties and their increased role in the political life of the continent. The trust and confidence of the people in Communists is growing because millions can see for themselves that the Communist Parties are actively working

for the unity of all national democratic forces and striving to do their utmost to lead the struggle for national independence and social progress to complete victory.

The world today is characterized by sharp political, economic, ideological and, in some areas, armed struggles against imperialism; vigorous anti-imperialist action of the broadest working masses of the people, of various social strata, social movements and even whole nations and peoples. The overwhelming majority of the people have already made their choice in favour of social progress, national freedom and socialism. The ultimate victory of this struggle today in which millions of people are involved depends to a great extent on the unity of all forces confronting imperialism. This was stressed by the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which made the stirring call:

"Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!"

The Historical Mission of Communists

Communists strive to make maximum use of all opportunities opened up by the new historical epoch to put an end to the old society with its mass poverty and political insanity. The Communists see their role, first and foremost, in translating into reality the new revolutionary potentials of the times. Success in this task lies in the creation of a broad anti-imperialist front uniting all basic revolutionary democratic movements and progressive forces of our times. These forces comprise the countries building socialism and communism; those struggling to overthrow the capitalist system; the forces fighting for national liberation, for freedom from the imperialist yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism; the forces working for world peace and delivery of humanity from the threat of a thermonuclear conflagration.

The one force capable of guiding all these forces and merging them into one mighty liberation movement is the communist movement.

This historical mission of the communist movement is a natural development of the objective nature of social struggle today. It is the Communists who have been successful for the first time

in history in making socialist ideas a reality for millions of people and who have made socialism the leading force in the modern world. The communist movement is based on the broadest international social foundation—the working class. Thanks to its genuinely scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, the communist movement is able to express the interests of the widest sections of the people and, hence, it has the greatest opportunities to unite all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces in a struggle for common goals. Finally, the communist movement, as the carrier of the banner of peace, unites millions of people in the fight to eliminate the plunder, violence and wars of imperialism.

Today, hundreds of millions of people in countries of different continents are engaged in building a new socialist life under the leadership of Communists. In capitalist states Communists are supported by millions of people—at the polls, in the fight against the monopolies, by working people striking for their rights. No matter how flagrantly anti-communist the imperialist reaction, it is powerless to halt the growing influence and prestige of the Communist Parties. The growth of the communist movement, its transformation into the most influential political force in the modern world creates a qualitatively new world situation and opens up new prospects for the world's revolutionary process.

Every Communist Party, in the specific conditions in which it is compelled to struggle, is accountable for its policies to the working class and the working people of its country. At the same time every Communist Party has an international obligation—a responsibility for the preservation

of peace, and its corollary, the establishment of new, friendly and cooperative relations among nations.

At their 24th Congress Soviet Communists noted with satisfaction that for more than 25 years the Soviet people have lived in peace. For a quarter of a century now humanity has been safeguarded from world war. The Soviet Union and its foreign policy have made a considerable contribution to this historic achievement. However, the forces of aggression and militarism, though checked, have not yet been rendered harmless, and it is not possible to consider the threat of another world war completely eliminated. It is the vital task of all peaceable states, of all peoples, to prevent this threat from becoming a reality.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, in cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and other peace-loving states, and with the wholehearted support of many millions of people throughout the world, stand resolutely for the cause of peace and friendship among nations.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has put forward the following programme to safeguard world peace.

First

To eliminate the hotbeds of war in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East and to promote a political settlement in these areas on the basis of respect for the legitimate rights of states and peoples, victims of aggression.

To give an immediate and firm rebuff to any acts of aggression or intimidation. For this, full

use must also be made of the possibilities of the United Nations.

Repudiation of the threat or the use of force in settling outstanding issues must become a law of international life. For its part, the Soviet Union has invited the countries which agree with this approach to conclude appropriate bilateral or regional treaties.

Second

To proceed from the final recognition of the territorial changes that took place in Europe as a result of the Second World War. To bring about a radical turn towards détente and peace on this continent. To ensure the convocation and success of an all-European conference.

To do everything to ensure collective security in Europe. The participants in the defensive Warsaw Treaty have expressed their readiness for a simultaneous annulment of this treaty and of the North Atlantic alliance, or—as a first step—dismantling of their military organizations.

Third

To conclude treaties banning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

To work for an end to the testing of nuclear weapons, including underground tests, by everyone everywhere.

To promote the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

The Soviet Union stands for the nuclear disarmament of all states in possession of nuclear weapons, and for the convocation for these purposes of a conference of the five nuclear powers—the

USSR, the USA, the People's Republic of China, France and Britain.

Fourth

To invigorate the struggle to halt the continued production of all types of weapons. The Soviet Union favours the convocation of a world conference to consider disarmament questions in full.

The Soviet Union stands for the dismantling of foreign military bases, a reduction of armed forces and armaments in areas where the military confrontation is especially dangerous, above all in Central Europe.

To work out measures reducing the possibility of accidental outbreak or deliberate staging of armed incidents and their development into international crises, or war.

The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate agreements on reducing military expenditure, above all by the major powers.

Fifth

The UN decisions on the abolition of the remaining colonial regimes must be fully carried out. Manifestations of racialism and apartheid must be universally condemned, and states practising them boycotted.

Sixth

The Soviet Union is prepared to expand relations of mutually advantageous cooperation in every sphere with states which for their part seek to do so. The Soviet state is prepared to participate together with other states concerned in settling problems such as conservation of the environment, development of power and other natural

resources, development of transport and communications, prevention and eradication of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, and the exploration and development of outer space and the world ocean.

"Such are the main features," said General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade Brezhnev in his report to the 24th CPSU Congress, "of the programme for the struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of nations, which our Party has put forward. And we declare that, while consistently pursuing its policy of peace and friendship among nations, the Soviet Union will continue to conduct a resolute struggle against imperialism, and firmly to rebuff the evil designs and subversions of aggressors. As in the past, we shall give undeviating support to the people's struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism."

These comprehensive and constructive proposals for safeguarding peace have evoked widespread interest. The world progressive press has acclaimed the programme of peace advanced by the 24th Congress stressing its Leninist peace principles in foreign policy, its realism and practicality. Many papers pointed out that such a convincing and consistent programme of peace could only be offered by a powerful socialist state that is confident in the success of the struggle for peace.

The highest forum of Soviet Communists, wrote Czechoslovakia's *Rudé Právo* on April 10, 1971, has advanced a bold peace initiative which calls the world towards extensive peaceful cooperation and a political solution of all international problems. The proposals contained in the Brezhnev

report, pointed out the Nigerian paper *New Nigerian* on April 13, 1971, are an outstanding contribution to the cause of preserving peace throughout the world and give hope to mankind of safeguarding it from another world war. The Soviet programme of struggle for peace, pointed out the Egyptian paper *Akhbar el-Yom*, "creates a new atmosphere in the international arena." Even the American *Washington Post*, which is not remarked for its sympathy towards communism, had to admit that the Soviet position, as put forward by L. I. Brezhnev, looked strong and confident.

The forces of socialism and democracy in whose front ranks marches the Soviet Union are demonstrating with ever growing conviction their ability to frustrate the most dangerous imperialist aggressive designs and endeavours.

Convincing evidence of the contradiction existing between the aggressive plans of imperialism and its ability to realize them is provided by the war in Vietnam.

By unleashing the war in Vietnam, the biggest after the Second World War, US imperialism strove for far-reaching goals. It planned to deal a powerful blow at the Eastern flank of the world socialist system, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The US militarists hoped to establish firm power in Southeast Asia. Vietnam has been used by the Pentagon as a testing ground for its weapons, tactics and strategy. The US military are attempting to use their experience in Vietnam to suppress national liberation movements. The Pentagon top brass arrogantly hoped to demonstrate in Vietnam the "superiority" of their military machine. It did not at all work out as planned.

Tens of thousands of funeral wreaths, instead of laurels of victory, are what the American people received from this aggressive war unleashed by the US ruling circles. It has become obvious to everyone now that the Vietnamese people are resolute in their determination to become masters of their own country and that they can neither be crushed by direct military intervention or its expansion to other states in Indochina nor by sabotaging the talks in Paris or resorting to wider employment of mercenaries. The defeat that the United States, the leader of world imperialism, is suffering in Vietnam today is of great historical significance.

The predatory aggressor has been defeated by the unprecedented heroism of the Vietnamese people, the correct and far-sighted policy of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the international solidarity with the Vietnamese patriots shown by people all over the world, including the USA, by the versatile aid rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union.

True to its internationalist duty the Soviet Union is rendering aid to fighting Vietnam. Soviet people are assisting the Vietnamese people to restore industrial enterprises, houses and cultural and public buildings destroyed by air raids. Soviet vessels arriving in the Haiphong port carry equipment for housing, provisions, medicines and other much needed cargoes.

The Soviet Union is supplying the DRV army with combat weapons whose effectiveness has been felt by the American invaders. Missile operators, anti-aircraft gunners and pilots trained

by Soviet instructors have already downed thousands of US planes. It has been pointed out time and again in the world press that 70 per cent of all aid to the DRV during the years of the "air war" has been provided by the Soviet Union. Over seven thousand young Vietnamese have received industrial training, and four thousand students a higher education, in the USSR.

Expressing gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for this aid, Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, declared from the rostrum of the 24th Congress of the CPSU: "The Communists of Vietnam, the working class and the people of Vietnam will always be grateful to the party of the great Lenin and the heroic Soviet people." "The Vietnamese people," runs the message of greeting from the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, "will never forget that both in the past, in the course of the lengthy revolutionary struggle, and today, during the war of resistance against American aggression, the fight for national salvation and the construction of socialism in the North, the Vietnamese people have received constant political support and huge effective economic and military aid from the CPSU, the Soviet Government and the whole fraternal Soviet people. We express our gratitude from the bottom of our heart to the CPSU, the Government and people of the Soviet Union for this most valuable support and assistance permeated with the noble spirit of proletarian internationalism."

The victory being won by the patriots in Vietnam serves to consolidate the position of nations

struggling against imperialist diktat. To bring victory closer it is necessary to coordinate and unite the efforts of all states of the socialist world, the joint efforts of all Communist and Workers' Parties and those of all progressive parties and democratic organizations.

Proletarian internationalism has also been tested of recent years in another important area of the world—the Middle East.

Armed aggression was committed against the UAR, Syria and Jordan in the summer of 1967 by Israel. But it was prompted by international imperialism, in the shape of US imperialism in particular. The imperialists had reckoned on inflicting a crippling blow on the progressive regimes in Arab states through the agency of the Israeli aggressors, and suppressing the Arab liberation movement in order to regain their lost dominance in the Middle East. The aspirations of the Israeli bourgeoisie and Zionist ruling circles for territorial expansion coincided with imperialist plans in this area.

But here, too, the calculations of the reactionaries were frustrated. The progressive regimes in the Arab states, with broad international support, withstood the aggression. By consolidating and enlarging their forces they have been able to continue a resolute struggle in defence of freedom, independence and national progress, for the return of all territories occupied by the invaders.

Arab patriots are encouraged by the fact that they are supported by the Soviet Union, other socialist states, the international communist movement, the national liberation forces, and the democratically-minded public of capitalist states.

An important landmark on the road of streng-

thening fraternal Soviet-Egyptian relations was the agreement on friendship and cooperation concluded between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic in the spring of 1971 during the visit to Egypt of N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This agreement expresses the close friendship, mutual support and understanding which characterize the relations of the Soviet Union with progressive Arab states. The agreement confirms the long-term friendly cooperation between the USSR and the UAR and opens up new prospects for cooperation in all spheres—economic, political and military. This document provides further proof of the growing consolidation of the anti-imperialist front.

All national liberation struggles find support in the Soviet Union. Comrade Fidel Castro Rus, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, justly said at a rally in Havana on April 22, 1970 that "...wherever imperialism deals its predatory blows it confronts a country, a state, which, by sending the required armaments, helps the people to defend themselves from imperialism. Take us, for example. We have received from the Soviet Union armaments to the value of 1,500 million pesos! What would we have done without these armaments? I don't even need to mention oil or other commodities which at certain periods were so crucially important... In other words the existence of the Soviet state, objectively speaking, is one of the greatest achievements of the revolutionary movement."

Or consider the aid of the USSR to young na-

tional states. Mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and developing states is directed at finding solutions to such vital problems as the creation of important branches of the national industry, the development of markets and the training of technical and scientific personnel. Today the USSR has agreements on economic and technical cooperation with 40 newly-free states. It is rendering aid in the construction of over 700 projects in these countries, including power stations, metallurgical, machine-building and metal-working plants, light industry and food industry processing enterprises, agricultural enterprises, transport and communication projects and educational establishments. Of these projects 350 have already been commissioned. In total these enterprises will annually produce up to nine million tons of pig iron, 13 million tons of steel, nine million tons of rolled steel, 278 thousand tons of aluminium, etc.

That every country defending its right to freedom and independence may reckon with confidence on the solidarity and support of the socialist community is a fact of worldwide significance and a practical embodiment of the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism.

Reflecting the aspiration of millions upon millions of people towards a lasting peace, Communists are devoting the closest attention to the promotion of peace and progress in Europe.

It is on this continent that twice during the life of one generation the flames of world war have erupted threatening to consume the planet. Even today Europe remains a troubled area where the major forces of the imperialist camp and

the socialist community confront each other. The possibility of an armed conflict between them carries with it a real danger of a full-scale nuclear war.

The socialist countries, headed by Communists, have made constructive proposals for strengthening security and peaceful cooperation in Europe. These proposals are a realistic basis for consolidating peace and security in Europe. The Statement of the European Communist and Workers' Parties made at their meeting in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, in April 1967 reads: "We Communists, acting in various national conditions, will spare no effort in building up a system of collective security to establish such relations among states as would exclude any possibility of aggression and would guarantee a stable peace in Europe and the whole world. This is a difficult but a realistic task."

The seeds of peace and friendship yield a rich crop. An understanding is growing among Europeans separated by frontiers, national differences, language barriers and different social systems that it is possible to create in Europe a powerful force that can triumph over war and the uncertain future, and open the road towards a stable peace and the well-being of the people. The idea of convening an all-European conference has already received the support of many European states whose governments hold various positions on political issues concerning the future of Europe.

Step by step the forces of the new world are imposing on the imperialists peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This is the policy bequeathed to the Communists by Lenin who saw in it a realistic way of resolving acute

issues in a world divided into two opposing systems.

Peaceful coexistence of states requires the observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big or small, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect of the rights of all peoples to freely choose their socio-economic and political system, and the settlement of all unresolved international issues politically, by means of negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the solution of economic and social problems for developing countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is not contrary to the right of enslaved peoples to choose the road for their liberation which they deem necessary—armed or unarmed—and in no way implies that reactionary regimes should receive any support. It is beyond question an inherent right of every nation to defend itself from imperialist aggression and to expect the support of other nations in this just cause. This is part and parcel of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the nations.

The policy of peaceful coexistence prevents the imperialists' attempts to resolve their internal contradictions by whipping up international tension and creating dangerous hotbeds of war. This policy does not mean the preservation of a social and political status-quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It promotes the development of class struggle against imperialism on a national and a world scale. It is an inherent, inseparable right and duty of the working people and their Communist Parties in capitalist countries to

carry on a resolute class struggle for the elimination of the monopolies and their power, for the establishment of a genuinely democratic system, for socialist power, whatever road they happen to take to achieve this. Communists the world over maintain solidarity with these just struggles.

The vital interests of the people demand an intensified struggle against militarism in all its forms, and especially against the military-industrial complex of the USA and of other imperialist states. Communists incessantly call on all peace-loving forces to demand a radical cutback in military spending, and call for general and complete disarmament under effective international control so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving living conditions, promoting health services and education, and rendering assistance to developing countries.

One of the most important prerequisites for securing peace is to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Communists urge the signing of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. But they do not stop at that. It is necessary, they point out, to outlaw nuclear weapons, to stop their production and all testing. It would be expedient, they consider, to create nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world to make the international atmosphere healthier and to strengthen trust between states. The main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of the nuclear weapon. Nuclear energy must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Communists call for an effective ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons which, in particular, have been extensively used by US troops in Vietnam.

Imperialism strives to suppress the basic rights

of man. Communists believe in and fight for the democratization of all aspects of public life. They are implacably opposed to monopoly capital, and their democratic demands are such as to weaken the positions of imperialism and strike at its very foundations. They defend freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstrations and association, and declare the equality of all citizens.

"A firm rebuff must be administered," declared the participants in the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "to any attempt and any legislation by reaction designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedoms won in the course of hard class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in the international arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop arbitrary court rulings against Communists and other patriots, and to defend the right to political asylum, there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and democrats lying in jail."

More than a quarter of a century ago the Soviet Army, in joint effort with the freedom-loving nations, routed fascism, the hideous offspring of imperialism. However, the struggle with it is not yet over. Fascism is intensifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. Fascism is again being revived in Europe. Its seizure of power in Greece is graphic evidence of this. In Spain the ultra-reactionaries are trying to revive fascist methods of repression and are making frantic efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal fascism, under the onslaught of a growing popu-

lar movement, is resorting to demagoguery in an effort to cover up its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neo-Nazis are openly bidding for power. Neo-fascist forces are also becoming more active in other capitalist countries. They are linking up with imperialist intelligence agencies to stage reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are meeting with growing resistance from the people, but the situation also demands united action by all the anti-fascist forces, and greater international support from the Communist and Workers' Parties, from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.

"The struggle against the fascist regimes," reads the basic document of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "is an essential part of action against imperialism, for democratic freedoms. It is the common task of all democrats, of all champions of freedom, irrespective of their political views, world outlook or religious beliefs, to redouble real support for the national progressive forces fighting centres of reaction and fascism, such as the governments of Spain and Portugal, the reactionary colonels' junta in Greece, the oligarchic military cliques in Latin America, and all other tyrannical regimes in the service of US imperialism."

The honour and conscience of humanity cannot be reconciled to such manifestations of man-hating imperialist ideology as racialism. The most ignominious phenomenon of our time is the barbarous persecution of the 25-million Negroes in the USA, the racist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia, the persecution of the Arab population in Israel-occupied territory and in Israel itself,

racial and national discrimination, Zionism and anti-Semitism, all of which are fanned by reactionary capitalist forces in order to confuse the masses.

Imperialism makes use of racialism to divide people and thus maintain its rule. But the masses reject racialism and, given the lead, will join in active struggle against it. In such action they will quickly come to realize that eradication of racialism is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations. This is the goal Communists have in view.

Communists do not intend to seek solutions for these general democratic issues by themselves. On the contrary they favour the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace-loving forces on a national and international scale. Communists will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements. They strive as far as possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation.

The participants in the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties called on all organizations representing workers, farmers, office employees, the youth, students, intellectuals, women, on various groups and social strata of differing political, philosophic and religious convictions and views, on realistically-minded political leaders of the capitalist countries, on all democratic parties, national and international progressive public organizations, to pool their efforts with those of the Communist Parties for concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of ten-

sions and in defence of peace. They invited all of these representative groups and individuals to join in a broad and constructive exchange of opinion on the widest possible range of issues bearing on the anti-imperialist struggle.

"Communists," reads the basic document of the Meeting, "favour the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace-loving forces on a national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of cooperation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation."

Key to Victory: United Action

Hundreds of millions of working people have linked their historical destinies with Marxist-Leninists. Communists today are leading the millions along the path of peace, progress and liberty. The trust of the people is a compelling force and Communists are continuously seeking new ways of attaining their goals successfully. One of their major objects is to promote the further unity of the communist movement itself in keeping with the requirements of the times. United action of Communist and Workers' Parties at the present stage is one of the most important factors for the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces.

United action is the greatest lesson that the working class and, first and foremost, its communist vanguard, have learned in the course of more than 100 years of existence. This experience shows that capitalism is an international force which cannot be defeated by national units of the communist movement alone. The working class has an inexhaustible revolutionary potential, but it can be an effective force only when the proletariat is united.

Proletarian internationalism is today the most urgent requirement, vitally important for the major revolutionary forces of the modern world

because it means cohesion and unity in the struggle for the liberation of mankind. The idea of proletarian internationalism is closely connected with the very essence of the class struggle since it is a consequence of this struggle. At the same time it is an expression of the profoundly humanist historic liberation mission of the working class.

Communists consistently follow the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the need for resolute struggle against everything that blunts internationalism. "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the *two policies* (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question,"—was how Lenin put the issue. (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 26.)

Experience shows that internationalism cements the revolutionary ranks and forges an invincible weapon for use against the enemies of communism. On the contrary, nationalism, if it is not repulsed in time, corrupts the working class movement.

Lenin's conviction about the decisive impact that a genuinely internationalist policy would have at a period of world history when socialism emerged as a world system has been forcefully confirmed.

A merely verbal recognition of internationalism, and its actual rejection in practice in favour of nationalism, has lately become evident in some areas of the communist movement. This is a great danger which needs to be repulsed with all resolution.

Lenin warned that "...the urgency of the struggle against this evil, against the most deep-rooted

petty-bourgeois national prejudices, looms ever larger with the mounting exigency of the task of converting the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national dictatorship (i.e., existing in a single country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat involving at least several advanced countries, and capable of exercising a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole). Petty-bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more. Quite apart from the fact that this recognition is purely verbal, petty-bourgeois nationalism preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a worldwide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital." (Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.)

Imperialists understand the force of international proletarian solidarity. It is for this reason that in their struggle against socialism, against the revolutionary movement they count so much on nationalism, hoping in this way to split up the communist movement and counterpose the revolutionary units.

The practice of the communist and working class movement testifies that internationalism in every Communist Party must be rooted in the native soil. The class proletarian struggle naturally assumes a national character. However, another, no less important aspect of the matter, as the

whole experience of revolutionary struggle shows, is the inadmissability of indifference to internationalism. And such nihilism is possible if there is absolutization of the specifically national, or the particular and local phenomena are generalized into a universal category and, especially, if an attempt is made to impose such an approach upon other members of the revolutionary movement.

Specifically national conditions may bring about a diversity of views and conceptions in some Communist Parties on certain concrete tactical issues. Such diversity in itself does not undermine the international unity of the communist movement. Everything depends on the political approach to this question. If it is correct, the wealth of some parties' national experience in implementing the general line of Marxism-Leninism may be usefully employed. But there also exists another approach when the main emphasis is on the divergency of views. Such an approach provides ready play for the development of splitting tendencies. The negative consequences of this are obvious. Wherever differences appear that go beyond the framework of objectively founded specific conditions of struggle, the differences which lead to a violation of international solidarity and undermine a united front of anti-imperialist struggle lead to a deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The power of a proletarian party consists in its ability to use inner potentialities to the utmost in the struggle for the interests of its people, for progress in its own country and at the same time for the international cause of revolution and socialism. Attempts to "consolidate" the Party's position at the expense of weakening or even severing

international ties, and rejection of joint action with other units of the communist movement, lead to the loss of the Party's ideological independence from the bourgeoisie and inevitably damage its political prestige.

Does this mean that the principles of independence, sovereignty and equality of both socialist states and some of the national units of the international working class and communist movement are to any extent compromised? Naturally, it does not. Respect and strict observance of these principles is a law for Communists, inasmuch as they are internationalists.

The problem of the class content of proletarian internationalism, of practical ways to implement it today when the two systems are in battle, is one pertaining to bitter class struggle.

It is from principled class positions that Communists regard the concept of sovereignty which is distorted in every way by bourgeois ideologists and opportunists. By emasculating the class content of sovereignty, and speculating on the legitimate aspiration of nations for sovereignty, the imperialists incessantly undermine the sovereign rights of nations and, in particular, set out to sow seeds of alienation and mutual mistrust between socialist states. In reality, however, the class content of socialist sovereignty is inseparably linked up with international responsibility to the community of socialist states and the international communist and revolutionary movement.

Communists see their patriotic duty to the people in acting in the correct way to guarantee and protect the sovereignty of nations and states from imperialist encroachments. Speaking about this at the 24th Congress of the CPSU Gustav Husak,

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, pointed out:

"Our experience irrefutably testifies that a socialist state can safeguard its sovereignty only if the power of the working class headed by the Communist Party is firm, stable and unshakable. And if, due to an onslaught of counter-revolution, this power is seriously endangered, a menace is also created for the sovereignty of the socialist state, and it may find itself in imperialist dependence. An abstract concept of a socialist state's sovereignty does not exist. The real expression of its sovereignty is the power of the working class and the guiding role of the Communist Party."

In the nineteen-sixties the international communist movement was confronted with considerable difficulties in its own ranks. Serious ideological differences came to light. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party began to isolate itself from the world communist movement and openly to veer away from Leninist positions, slipping to those of militant nationalism. Following the condemnation by the great majority of fraternal Parties of the anti-Leninist platform of the Chinese leadership, the latter has engaged in a factional splitting campaign, striving to sponsor pro-Chinese groups in Communist Parties in other countries. The so-called theory of polycentrism was launched then and centrifugal forces began to operate encouraging a tendency to split into "national cells" and activate Right- and "Left"-wing opportunism.

This could not but evoke the deep anxiety of Marxist-Leninists, the upholders of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It was readily apparent that this situation in the communist

ranks was only beneficial to mankind's most flagrant enemy—imperialism. There is every reason to believe, for example, that if the Chinese leadership had not taken up its separatist, nationalist position, the US intervention in Indochina might not have taken place, or would have been nipped in the bud.

World developments show that those who undermine the unity of socialist states and the cohesion of the communist movement, whatever pseudo-revolutionary phraseology they may use, are weakening the anti-imperialist front, are working against the socialist revolution and playing into the hands of the imperialist forces. The great damage inflicted on the socialist community and the international communist and national liberation movements by Peking's anti-Leninist, splitting and nationalistic policy is quite evident. However, the fact that despite these complex conditions socialism has been able to defeat imperialism, which has even resorted to arms in Indochina, is convincing proof of the strength of the revolutionary forces alive in the world today.

Unity is not a phrase, it is action. It cannot be achieved of its own accord—it has to be fought for. And it is this struggle that the Marxist-Leninists are waging. The practice of the communist movement has shown that Communists have found no more effective form of discussing and resolving their problems than the international meetings of the fraternal Parties. In modern conditions these international meetings make it possible for Parties to exchange experience, discuss individual problems jointly, elaborate the main strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement. Preparation for the last International

Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties started and continued for one year in Budapest and then proceeded in Moscow. The 1969 Meeting was collectively prepared by all fraternal Parties which expressed their wish to participate in it. Representatives of between sixty and seventy Parties took part in the meetings of the working group and preparatory commission, which elaborated all the draft papers for the Meeting. A typical feature of both the preparation and the 1969 Meeting itself was the spirit of equality, genuine democracy and creative cooperation. More than one thousand written proposals and amendments to the drafted documents of the Meeting were submitted and considered. The conclusions of the Meeting were the fruit of truly collective work of all the participating Communist and Workers' Parties.

Marxist-Leninists believe that to consolidate the unity of the communist movement it is necessary to seek ways of overcoming existing differences patiently and perseveringly. These differences are not identical, which means that their resolution will proceed in different directions. In some cases differences of views and questions may be settled in the course of bilateral meetings and comradely discussion. In others—they may be overcome by time and events in joint struggle for common goals in the international arena. There are also differences, however, which reflect basic problems, the very essence of the communist movement. Such problems are likely to take much more time and principled effort to overcome.

Parties consistently striving for Marxist-Leninist unity believe that joint action against imperialism is especially significant as an aid to achieve

cohesion. Under conditions when imperialism is attempting to counterattack in some areas of struggle it is impossible to say: "Let us first settle all our differences and then agree to act together." The situation demands another approach: differences of views on certain issues should not preclude joint communist action in the general struggle against imperialism. Is it not more beneficial to settle practical issues jointly? For in the course of common struggle it will be easier to see whose views meet the general interests of the communist movement and which ones are contrary to it and hamper or even damage the common cause. In short, the most correct policy in practical work is to stress those issues which bring Communists of all countries closer together.

Expansion of ties and contacts between fraternal Parties is also a very important way of overcoming differences in the communist movement. They serve as a means for reaching agreement on action to be taken in the international arena and for comparing positions on problems which arise and settling differences.

There is also another important direction for overcoming differences and fighting for unity in the communist movement. This is the summing up of theoretical party work, development on this basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and defence of its principles and basic ideas.

The 1969 International Meeting of fraternal Parties demonstrated the value of such an approach to the problem of attaining unity in the communist movement.

The Meeting was held in Moscow from June 5 to 17 and was attended by delegations from 75 Communist and Workers' Parties. The mere

fact of holding such a widely representative Meeting reflected the responsibility felt by Communist and Workers' Parties for the destiny of the movement with which the future of mankind is connected.

The Meeting was held in a spirit of communist fraternity. The statements of the participants, as all other materials, were published immediately and in full, disproving the allegations which had been made by imperialist propaganda about an alleged "crisis" in the communist movement. Instead, the Meeting was clear evidence that the speculations of imperialist propaganda had failed. The main tendency in the communist movement as a result of the Meeting was a desire for cohesion and unity of action on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism.

Though some ideological problems of the communist movement remain to be resolved the movement is now developing in the right direction. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, said in this connection "...it is necessary to speak about the role of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has made a great contribution to the success of the international communist movement at this crucial turn of events, because, in spite of all the enormous difficulties that were created by the wave of opportunism, the leadership of the CPSU did not lose firmness or clarity of orientation. It has shown a deep understanding of the historical process and played an enormously positive role in its development."

The basic document—"Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and Unit-

ed Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces"—was adopted in an atmosphere of unity and after the broadest exchange of views. This outstanding Marxist-Leninist document of the modern world contains a profound analysis of the present international situation, exposes the criminal, anti-popular image of imperialism, outlines a concrete programme of anti-imperialist struggle for nations and points out the ways for consolidating the unity of the communist movement in the future.

The Meeting was a resounding success for the Communist and Workers' Parties and the whole liberation movement, an important landmark on the road of consolidating the unity of the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It also had great relevance for future struggles against imperialism on the basis of broad unity of action of the world's democratic and progressive forces.

The participants in the Meeting concluded their work united, enriched by the ideas expressed in the course of the discussion, and more confident than ever of the victory of their just cause. A crisis of petty-bourgeois radicalism and Right-wing opportunism on the one hand and a growing workers' movement, consolidation of the communist movement and Marxist-Leninist ideas on the other—is the essence of the period in the communist movement highlighted by the 1969 Meeting in Moscow.

Referring to the historic significance of the 1969 Meeting Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, who was chairman at the clos-

ing session of the Meeting, pointed out: "...We are laying the cornerstone of a great edifice: the great cause of uniting the international communist movement at a new stage for implementation of historic tasks. We are building a foundation for the general unity of our movement, the unity of Communists who, in Lenin's words, are the brain, honour and conscience of our epoch."

Leninism, Basis for Unity

The great social shifts which have radically changed the socio-political face of the earth are inseparably linked with the name of Lenin and his teaching. Small wonder that his birth centenary was marked so widely throughout the world. There has not been another political figure in history whose memory has been revered so much by all nations.

The Lenin jubilee became an international review of the achievements and victories of Marxist-Leninist teaching, a review of the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The hopes and attempts of imperialism as well as those of its servants—the revisionists of every type—to stem the tide of Leninism and weaken the world communist movement were frustrated. The celebration of the Lenin jubilee showed that the concept of proletarian internationalism has advanced to an even higher plane. It confirmed that the international communist movement has only one ideological basis—Leninism, which is Marxism of the 20th century. Leninism has been

and continues to be, for all true revolutionaries, a guide to action, a great school of revolution, a school of serving the interests of the people.

Communists see their task in firmly defending the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in struggle with any adversary, putting these principles into effect and enriching them with the modern experience of class struggle and the construction of a socialist society.

The whole road traversed by the workers' and communist movement confirms that without principled action against the bourgeois ideology and its medium through which it can influence the working class and working people in general, without defeating the Right- and "Left"-wing opportunists, there can be no genuine unity. "The fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism," Lenin pointed out. (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 302.)

Lenin fought tirelessly both against the Russian and international opportunism, contrasting it with creative revolutionary Marxism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the fraternal Parties, are resolutely continuing the Leninist tradition of fighting opportunism.

Communists can never forget Lenin's teaching: the need to be irreconcilable with regard to opportunism, which is an organized weapon of the bourgeoisie inside the workers' movement. There is nothing more harmful or pernicious for the cause of the proletariat, warned Lenin, than "intra-Party diplomacy" with the opportunists. The working class cannot reach its world historical

goals, cannot implement the goals of socialism, if it does not fight opportunism resolutely. And the whole experience of revolutionary struggle, the whole experience of socialist construction has confirmed the correctness of this warning again and again.

Striving to disarm the working class ideologically, opportunists attempt to refute the most important part of Marxism-Leninism—the teaching about proletarian dictatorship. Experience proves, however, that one of the most important features of building a socialist society is the dictatorship of the proletariat in some form, i.e., state leadership of socialist construction by the working class during the whole period of transition from capitalism to socialism. To be firm in defending the principles of socialism, to fight resolutely against any attempts to weaken the guiding role of Communist Parties, not to substitute for socialist democracy political liberalism of a bourgeois type and thereby surrender socialist positions—these are the imperatives demanded by the whole development of the socialist system.

Today even the most frenzied “ultras” in the imperialist camp realize that any frontal military attack against the socialist community spells disaster for imperialism. The enemy realizes that the greatest source of strength for socialism consists in the fact that the world socialist community is not merely so many states in the political arena but a new historical community of countries and nations based on the collectivist nature of socialism, unity of ideological and political principles, and solidarity of interests. It is the great hope of the enemies of socialism, therefore, to sow dissension in the ranks of the

socialist community in the hope of destroying it from within. In this respect the enemies of communism are increasingly pinning their hopes on modern revisionism and nationalism.

In the conditions of a socialist country with a proletarian dictatorship, where classes hostile towards socialism have been defeated, it is the revisionists who mask themselves by pretending to be Marxists that are the best agents of the imperialist forces attempting to effect a change inside the socialist states and alter the policies of the ruling Communist Parties by decrying their class proletarian content. With malicious demagoguery, including talk about "defending" socialist democracy from various kinds of "deformities" these willing tools of imperialism strive to become popular heroes.

The experience of countries which have embarked on the road of socialist development since the Second World War has confirmed that during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism revisionism does not disappear but in some cases becomes increasingly active and finds support in the non-proletarian, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois environment and views inherited from the past, including nationalist survivals and imported imperialist ideologies from capitalist states.

Right- and "Left"-wing opportunists use almost identical argumentation in attacking the CPSU and other Communist Parties holding Marxist-Leninist views. And although there are certain differences between the two types of opportunism their main goals coincide: they attempt to discredit the main forces of the communist movement and to assume leadership of it, imposing

their own particular views anti Leninist strategy and tactics

Wherever there is conflict on the international scene both Right and Left wing opportunists may be found sharing the same political platform that of attacking all Communist Parties and socialist countries following an internationalist course Invariably both Right and Left wing deviations work to undermine the communist movement and weaken the unity of the working class to the detriment of all the forces confronting imperialism

The facts show that the Right wing opportunists and reformists and first of all those from among the Rightist social democratic leaders have always conducted the policies of the big bourgeoisie on prominent issues and compromised with it despite the damage this has inflicted on the working class The essence of their tactical schemes has been and continues to be making an absolute of peaceful methods of struggle and reforms which do nothing to alter the capitalist foundation or policies and which ignore the basic principles of proletarian class struggle They are against the seizure of power by the proletariat and conceal this capitulation by vague theories about democracy without class content

At a time when the concentration of power of the monopolies and the tyranny of the financial oligarchy have reached a monstrous scale the revisionists ingratiate themselves with the Right wing social democratic leadership and attempt to convince the working people that peaceful methods of struggle which they see as being purely parliamentary preclude effective mass

action and are allegedly the only proper methods of struggle. Contrasting democracy as understood in the West with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abandonment of class positions in the treatment of the socialist revolution and methods of its realization as well as in the construction of socialism, these are the typical features of Right wing opportunism. Thus revisionism in theory breeds opportunism in practice.

A serious danger for the revolutionary movement is presented by Left wing revisionism. This danger has become especially grave since the Chinese leadership adopted anti Leninist adventurous positions. Using loud sounding ultra revolutionary phraseology, the Left revisionists have been attacking the theory of scientific communism and striving to replace it by reactionary utopian barrack room socialism. The petty bourgeois nationalistic essence of this platform incompatible with Leninism that the Peking leaders have assumed ascribes to some countries a messianic role and leads to mass brainwashing in the spirit of hegemonism, chauvinism and militant anti Sovietism.

Typical of the Leftist groupings associated with the Peking leadership or with Trotskyism just as of Rightist opportunists is their ignoring of the objective laws of social development and underestimation of the forces which may and should be involved in struggle. The revolutionary phraseology so extensively used by the Leftists is in actual fact no more than a loud clamour to conceal their political barrenness, their loss of touch with the people. The Leftists are prone to crow about even their smallest achieve-

ments, but fall into apathy and despair in case of misfortune or defeat. They deny any connection between economic and political struggle, between struggle for democracy and struggle for socialism. They oppose any alliance of the working class with other social groups suffering from big-business domination. They attempt to attract the youth with insincere flattery and demagoguery in an effort to substitute for class struggle the so-called generation clash.

Vigilance with regard to "Left"-wing opportunism, the need to repulse it resolutely, is increasingly important today because new conditions for accelerating the struggle of the working class and the working people against imperialism have emerged and with them greater dangers connected with the sharp growth of imperialist aggressiveness, especially US imperialism. Today the working class and its communist vanguard must show, as never before, revolutionary purposefulness and resolution, ability to use to the utmost the new conditions being created as a result of the change in the balance of forces in the world, in order to press home the attack on imperialism. At the same time strategy and tactics must be such as to prevent the "hawks" of imperialism from plunging the world into a nuclear adventure.

Lenin pointed out that to single out the ideological and political similarity of social trends, it is necessary to analyze their class content and their main and essential principles. Following this method he concluded that there was a close similarity between opportunism and social nationalism. As far back as the first decade of this century Lenin warned that manifestations of op-

portunism inevitably merge into one great but very shallow and muddy social-national stream. Who can deny the iron logic of this conclusion? For it is a fact that nationalism today has become a fertile ground for all sorts of Rightist and "Leftist" deviations, which in the final analysis have been used to oppose some Parties and countries to other Communist Parties and socialist countries, a ground for an anti-Soviet ideology alien and hostile to communism.

Fortunately the communist movement is now increasingly showing that it is able to reveal the true essence of opportunist distortions of Leninism and fight successfully against them. Graphic evidence of this is the resolute rejection of the Roger Garaudy anti-Party factional activities by the French Communist Party; of the so-called Manifesto group by the Italian Communist Party, of Ernst Fischer by the Austrian Communist Party, Petkov by the Communist Party of Venezuela, etc.

An inseparable part of this consistent struggle of Marxist-Leninists is rejection of anti-Sovietism so highly valued today on the international ideological imperialist market. "It has become fashionable in some quarters," said William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, at the 1969 Meeting, "to criticize the Soviet Union in the illusory hope that it will make a Party 'respectable,' forgetting that history abounds with facts showing that anti-Sovietism has always been the common factor drawing together all enemies of peace and socialism. All of us who are concerned with the struggle for socialism must never forget that the Soviet Union is the decisive factor in the world struggle aga-

inst imperialism, for peace and socialism."

One of the most favourite methods anti-Soviet advocates resort to is an attempt to convince their audience or their readers that the CPSU claims some sort of "special" role in the communist movement. It would be possible to reply to these political provocators in the words of Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, who said: "Of all the Parties representing the powerful international communist and workers' movement today the CPSU has the greatest revolutionary experience. Founded by Lenin and led by him at the crucial stage of its struggle, it was the first Party to build socialism and embark on the construction of communism. The CPSU is the major centre for the development of Lenin's ideas, the Marxist-Leninist theory and its practice. Its great experience, its creative approach to new problems of social development is an eternal and invaluable source of inspiration for all Marxist-Leninist Parties and all revolutionary forces of our time."

It would be no exaggeration to say that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union finds itself in the heart of the major world historical events of the 20th century.

The October Revolution paved the way for all the revolutionary transformations which have taken place in the world during the new historical epoch. These progressive changes have taken place not because Soviet Communists "export" revolution—it is well known that, as a matter of principle, they have always been opposed to this—but because by their example they have been able to give to the enslaved peoples of the world

hope for the future and a practical illustration of how this hope can be turned into a reality.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union led the socialist revolution and has been leader of socialist construction in a country with enormously varied conditions, which made it an original laboratory for testing and trying out ways and methods of building a new social structure. The multi-structured and multi-national Russia at the turn of the 20th century embodied specific features of many countries and continents. That is why the experience in handling the many issues which confronted the Leninist Party is part and parcel of the stock of invaluable knowledge available to the world's revolutionary liberation movement—both economically developed and undeveloped areas, industrial workers' centres and poverty-stricken villages, highly advanced areas and regions of extreme cultural backwardness—facing similar problems today.

The field of activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an enormous state situated on two continents—in Europe and Asia. The experience of the CPSU, in a generalized sense, therefore includes the features of both the West European revolutionary workers' movement and those of the national liberation movements of the enslaved peoples of the East.

Leading a country which, after October 1917, became the focus of international attention, the Leninist Party became the creator of a new foreign policy, one that was entirely new in principle—a policy of peace and friendship, independence and security of nations, peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. The political course indicated by this policy is being

followed by other socialist countries and a growing number of young newly-free states striving to move towards independent national development.

The international role of the Soviet Union and the CPSU became especially significant following the rout of the Nazis by the Soviet Armed Forces and their contribution to the defeat of Japanese militarism. This factor has greatly determined the general development of the post-war world.

The nations of the world also know that if the nuclear weapon brandished so often by US imperialism has not yet been employed, they owe it to the revolutionary forces of the new epoch, the Soviet Union, above all, and its powerful military, especially nuclear-missile defensive capacity.

Speaking at the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in April 1971, Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, pointed out: "There is not one unbiased person in the world today who does not realize that if humanity has not been plunged into the flames of another world war, if imperialism is not able to flagrantly impose its will on the newly-free countries, if socialist states are able to build a new life successfully, we owe it to the Soviet Union, the red giant that has stretched across one sixth of the globe at full length, who is strong, but peace-loving, generous like a brother and ready to come to any nation's aid that is struggling for its freedom and independence, for a better life."

Internationalism, sincere and profound solidarity with all nations fighting imperialism is an inherent quality of every Soviet man. The par-

ticipants in the 1969 Moscow Meeting of fraternal Parties were fully justified in pointing out that no one should overlook the fact that it is the Soviet Union that bears the brunt of the anti-imperialist struggle in the world today. It can be said with equal justification, therefore, that there is no such thing as anti-Soviet communism and that anti-Sovietism, whatever shape it may assume or wherever it originates, is in reality an attack against the working class and the peoples.

The influence of Leninism on the course of the world's historical development becomes greater every year. The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was yet another triumph for Leninism. The Congress made a profound analysis of the period under review, examined what had been achieved, and set scientifically substantiated tasks for the future. The issues considered and dealt with covered problems vital not only to the peoples of the USSR but to all peoples. The Congress showed that Soviet society had made another stride forward towards its objectives.

"The 24th Congress of the CPSU," said Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, "was a great Congress whose conclusions will undoubtedly have a profound influence both on the economic and social development of the Soviet Union and the evolution of the international situation. For Soviet people this Congress proclaims further strides of an already developed socialist society towards communism. For the nations of the world it confirms that socialism embodies and defends peace and independence of nations in the face

of aggressive and power-lusting imperialism."

In 1918, speaking at a joint meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Lenin said: "Our forces must grow daily, and this constant growth is, as it was, our chief and complete guarantee that world socialism will triumph!" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 127.) Lenin's predictions have come true. The forces of socialism, peace and freedom already exceed those of imperialism, war and enslavement. But there remains a great struggle ahead. The doomed system will continue to resist while it can. It is impossible to "convince" it, to reason with it. Mankind must rid itself of this last system of exploitation.

And the revolutionary forces of the world will accomplish this. The guarantee of success is the existence of a communist vanguard armed with the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism.

The activities of the international communist movement in the world revolutionary process and its responsibility to history are focused in the public eye. The greatest historic achievements of the communist movement and the heroism of its members speak for themselves. Lenin's immortal ideas fire the hearts of the Communists, strengthen their thinking and spur them to action and victory. Neither difficulties, crises, nor losses can displace the communist movement from the position of pre-eminence accorded it by history. The minds and hearts of the Communists, their unbending will and tireless endeavours, hundreds of millions of the working people, who have faith in Communists and follow them, shall make tomorrow's history.

В. КОРНОНОВ
В БОРЬБЕ ЗА ИНТЕРЕСЫ НАРОДОВ
на английском языке
Цена 27 коп.

The series devoted to problems discussed at the 24th CPSU Congress also includes:

G. Mirsky. Problems of the National-Liberation Movement;

M. Senin. The Work of the Soviet Communist Party for a Stronger World Socialist System

and

N. Kristosturian. The 24th CPSU Congress and Prospects for Communist Construction in the USSR.

